MSC

KINGSFORD, C.H.

The First English Life of Henry V.

1R) 30/6/71

Telephone: Brixton 5325

MINET PUB

KNATCHBUL

LENDING

THE Library is open each wee

No book can be issued without t
Readers are requested to keep
to protect them in their tran
damage will be charged for.

Any change in the residence
must be notified to the Librari

A book may be renewed for
that it is not required by ano

Any book may be reserved upo
intimation that the book is avai

No book which has been in con
may be returned to the Librar
Health Officers who are autho
to comply with this Rule renders the borrower liable to a fine
not exceeding Five Pounds.

G354

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays and Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

R
L) 30/6/71

MINET PUBLIC LIBRARY

HENRY V

FROM THE PICTURE IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

TRA
V

The First English Life of KING HENRY THE FIFTH

written in 1513

by an anonymous Author known commonly as

The Translator of Livius

EDITED BY

CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, M.A.

St. John's College

Editor of Stow's 'Survey of London'

With Introduction, Annotations, and Glossary

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

MDCCCCXI

1

CLASS 947.04
KIN
B.N. 46299

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

MINET PUBLIC LIBRARY

CONTENTS

PAGE

HENRY V. From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery . . . . . *Frontispiece*

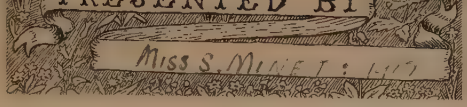
INTRODUCTION v

THE FIRST ENGLISH LIFE OF HENRY THE FIFTH . 3

VARIATIONS IN HARLEY MS. 35 191

GLOSSARY 193

INDEX 201



INTRODUCTION

In a famous passage in his *Annales*[1] John Stow, when describing how Henry of Monmouth appeared before his father in 1412 to seek for a reconciliation, attributes his story to the Translator of Livius, who gave it on the information of the Earl of Ormonde, 'an eye-witness of the same.' Holinshed[2] also, in his list of learned men and writers during the reign of Henry V, after mentioning Titus Livius, goes on to say: 'one there was that translated the said history into English, adding (as it were by way of notes in many places of that book) sundry things for the more large understanding of the history; a copy whereof I have seen belonging to John Stow, citizen of London.' In two places Holinshed makes specific mention of the Translator of Livius as the authority for statements in his text.[3] Before Stow and Holinshed, Nicholas Harpsfield, who died in 1575, having been a prisoner in the Tower since 1559, in his *Historia Anglicana*[4] (which, however, was not printed till 1622) states that the *Life of Henry V* by Titus Livius had been translated into English by one 'who added some things of his own taken, as he says, from the Earl of Ormonde'. Stow's story was borrowed by Holinshed,[5] and has obtained a wide currency. Nevertheless its source has passed unnoticed, and the possible existence of a translation of Titus Livius incorporating new material has been almost entirely overlooked, or noticed only to call in question the authenticity of the stories derived from it.

Recently Mr. F. Madan directed my attention to an English *Life of Henry V* in Bodley MS. 966. An examination of it showed at once that it was the lost work of the Translator, and identical with the book cited by Thomas Hearne in the notes to his edition of the *Vita Henrici Quinti* by Titus Livius as *Libri Anglici*. The Bodley MS. is a large, hand-

[1] p. 339, ed. 1631; see pp. 11–13 below.
[2] *Chronicles*, iii. 136.
[3] *id.* iii. 105, 122.
[4] p. 586.
[5] *Chronicles*, iii. 53, 54.

somely bound folio, containing transcripts of historical pieces and documents made for Sir Peter Manwood, a Kentish antiquary, in the reign of James I. The greater part of it (including the *Life of Henry V*) was written about 1610, and the volume was presented by Manwood to the Bodleian Library in 1620. Bernard, in his *Catalogi Librorum MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae*, which was published in 1697, gives under the heading 'Bodl. MS. 3033' a summary of its contents. But for the *Life of Henry V*, which occupies the first ninety-one pages, he has no more than 'Titus Livius's Prologue directed to King Henry the VI. p. 3 Fol.' Thus he does not notice the Translator's own preface on pages 1 and 2, and does not indicate in any way the nature of the main work. This may explain why since Hearne's time the *Life* has been overlooked. It is only quite recently that, in the process of cataloguing, its true character has been revealed.

After the text of the Bodley MS. as here given was already in print I discovered that another copy of the Translator's *Life of Henry V* existed in Harley MS. 35 at the British Museum. This copy was apparently written in the latter part of the reign of James I, and is therefore somewhat later in date than the copy in the Bodley MS. It is, moreover, in other respects inferior. As will be explained further on, the greatest interest of the Translator's *Life* consists in a number of stories given on the authority of James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormonde. Out of nine such stories or passages, four do not appear at all in the Harley MS. and a fifth only in part. Of the four omitted stories, two, on the spoil of Caen and on the visit of St. Vincent Ferrier,[1] are not given either by Stow or Holinshed. The account of the reception of Sigismund by Humphrey of Gloucester,[2] and the latter part of the story of the Sire de Barbasan,[3] which are also omitted in the Harley MS., are given by Holinshed but not by Stow. The reference to the great continence of Henry V,[4] which appears in the 'Proem' of the Bodley MS., has no place in the Harley MS., since the 'Proem' is there omitted altogether; this passage is quoted only by Harpsfield. The omission of the 'Proem'

[1] See pp. xxxiv–xxxvi below.
[2] See p. 67.
[3] See pp. 168–71.
[4] See p. 5.

may perhaps be explained by the fact that even in the Bodley MS. it seems to be imperfect. But the allusion to it-in the concluding paragraph of the *Life* stands in the Harley MS. The verses on the Earl of Stafford's banner,[1] with which the Bodley MS. ends, are not found in the other copy. The omissions of the Harley MS. raise some curious questions. The fact that two stories which do not appear in the Harley MS. are also omitted by Stow and Holinshed might suggest that this copy of the *Life* is similar to the one which Stow owned and lent to Holinshed. This is, however, disproved by the appearance in Holinshed of two passages which are not found in the Harley copy. It is possible, of course, that Stow's copy may have contained a selection of the Ormonde stories, which differed from those of either of the extant copies. This suggests a further hypothesis that there may have been still more of those stories in some other version now lost.[2] However that may be, it is satisfactory to know that in the Bodley MS. we at all events possess one of the fuller versions. The evidence for the existence of varying versions of the Translator's *Life* is further of interest as indicating that its circulation was neither accidental nor limited.

Over and above those matters referred to in the last paragraph there are four other omissions in the Harley MS. These are not very noteworthy in themselves, except for the circumstance that they are all insertions made by the Translator; three of them are in criticism of discrepancies which he found in his authorities.[3] Probably their omission has no more significance than that the scribe of the Harley MS. did not deem them of sufficient interest to retain. On the other side he makes only one addition of interest: this is the story (probably based on a local legend of late date) that Owen Glendower died on the top of Lawton's Hope Hill in Herefordshire.[4] In another place he adds a few words which are given by Stow, though they do not appear in the Bodley copy.[5] A third instance supplies a translation

[1] See p. 190.
[2] See p. xlvi below.
[3] The last paragraphs on pp. 51 and 56, the first part of the last paragraph on p. 123, and the last paragraph on p. 185.
[4] See p. 191 below.
[5] See p. 123, *note* 1.

of a sentence in Monstrelet which is omitted in the Bodley MS.[1] Minor textual variations are not infrequent, and occasionally the Harley MS. is of value as confirming more or less obvious corrections of the other copy. But on the whole the variations of the two manuscripts are less to be remarked than some curiously close analogies. Manwood's copy is well and carefully written. His scribe, however, seems at times to have found some difficulty in reproducing the original. Apart from obvious errors of transcription,[2] there are occasional omissions and blanks.[3] Of the errors, as is not unnatural, some, though not all, receive correction in the Harley MS. But that many of the omissions and blanks should be common to both manuscripts is remarkable; those variations of reading which appear in these passages are such as might naturally occur in the deciphering of an ill-written original. Not a few of the errors and blanks can be rectified by comparison with Stow's text in his *Annales*; but in some places it is clear that Stow[4] himself experienced in his own copy difficulties similar to those which are found in the extant manuscripts. The occurrence of such close analogies of error suggests naturally that all the versions are derived from the same more ancient copy. In such case, of course, the omissions of the Harley MS. would be peculiar to it, and would afford no evidence for the earlier circulation of varying versions of the *Life*. Whilst, however, the textual difficulties must have originated in a common undecipherable source, it is not impossible that they may have been transmitted to the two seventeenth-century scribes through separate intermediaries. For such a theory Stow's corrections and his own difficulties afford some slight confirmation. Textually Stow's version resembles most nearly the Harley copy, but it is evident that in the greater fullness of its material it came nearer to the Bodley MS. It is not possible to determine whether either or both of the manuscripts are derived from the copy which Stow owned. Since neither the variations nor the analogies of the manuscript and printed versions are helpful to a sure

[1] See p. 192 below.
[2] See pp. 9, 18, 23, 31, 47, 70, 91, 141, 154, 172, 176, 185, 189.
[3] See pp. 12, 27, 34, 60, 92, 100, 141, 157, 158, 161, 163, 177, 178, 186, 188.
[4] See pp. 34, 93, 158, 175 below.

conclusion, we are compelled to leave the textual history of the *Life* somewhat obscure.[1]

Of Stow's own copy of the *Life* no trace can now be found. It does not exist amongst his voluminous 'Collections', of which a part are preserved in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Stow first refers to the 'Translator of Livius' in the edition of his *Summary of English Chronicles* published in 1570. The identity of our *Life* with the work cited by Stow is manifest through its close resemblance to the text given by him in his *Annales*, wherein long passages are borrowed from the *Life* with little or no variation. Stow himself gave no indication of the source of his text, but cited Livius and Monstrelet as his authorities, when in point of fact he was adopting the version of the Translator together with his interpolations and errors.[2]

I will now turn to give an account of the Translator's *Life*. The writer explains in his 'Proem' that he had 'translated two books, the one of Titus Livius out of facund Latin, the other of Enguerrant de Monstrelet out of the common language of France . . . and to these two aforesaid books I have also added divers sayings of the English Chronicles, and to the same also divers other opinions that I have read of the report of a certain and honourable ancient person, . . . and that is the honourable Earl of Ormonde'. His purpose in writing was didactic, to give 'our Sovereign Lord' an example of honour, fame, and victory 'of that most puissant prince King Henry V, your ancestor'. When he began his work 'we laboured in war', and the writer wished that the King might thereby be provoked to ensue the acts of this so noble, virtuous, and excellent prince. But during its progress that mortal war was changed into an amiable, toward, and honourable peace. The allusion is made clear in the conclusion, where it is stated that the achievements of Henry V were—

'since the beginning of this my enterprise most to be regarded of us Englishmen through the high and victorious courage of

[1] I have been able to deal with many of the minor variations of the Harley MS. in the footnotes. The more important of the remainder are given in an Appendix on pp. 191, 192.

[2] See for instances pp. 17, 23, 25, 28, 33, 35, 39, 40, 55, 63, 79, 99, 100, 107, 116, 124, 139, 151, 176, 185.

our most renowned sovereign lord, that now reigneth over us, now of late entered into semblable war against the Frenchmen, as well for the recovery of his just and rightful inheritance, . . . as for the reconciliation of the same French King and his confederates unto our ghostly mother of the Church of Rome.'[1]

We thus have a definite proof of the time at which the work was composed. In the summer of 1513 the Holy League between Pope Leo X, Maximilian, and Henry VIII led to the invasion of France by the English King. The battle of Guinegate and the capture of Tournay, though they had no very substantial results, were sufficiently glorious. Henry would have liked to pursue his advantage, but the Pope was more anxious to use the difficulties of France as a means to put an end to the schismatical movement which had been supported by Louis XII. When the English King saw that Leo was intent on peace he concluded a treaty on his own account. To the failure of Henry's allies to render him consistent support the Translator seems to make reference, when he speaks of how in these days, as in times past, aliens for the more lucre and gain break their oaths and dissolve their confederations.[2] If the war had not achieved the purpose for which it was undertaken, it had been honourable to English arms, and had contributed to end the threatened schism in the Church. The treaty between England and France was concluded in August, 1514. Thus the Translator must have composed his *Life of Henry V* between June 30, 1513, when Henry VIII landed at Calais, and the autumn of the following year. With such clear evidence of date it is not necessary to pursue the question further. Still, we may note that the writer refers to the burning of Sheen in 1497, and to the building of Richmond, as matters which were no longer recent.[3]

The date of the composition of the *Life* is not insignificant. During that self-same year Thomas More was at work on his *History of Richard III*, which was the first noteworthy achievement of historical literature in English. At this time

[1] See p. 190 below. [2] See p. 189 below.
[3] See p. 19 below.

also Polydore Vergil was busy with his *Historia Anglica*, in which he sought to set a new model for the composition of History on a critical and reasoned basis. So it is of interest to mark the literary intention of the Translator, and the conception which he had formed of the duties of an historian. In both points he anticipated in some degree the work of his two contemporaries. He described himself modestly as having made his translation into rude and homely English, and pleaded that from his native tongue all pratique (or experience) and famous inditing were far exiled. In this he displays at once his desire to give a literary form to his work, and his consciousness of the difficulties that lay before him. Both the desire and the difficulties are reflected in the writer's narrative. With a natural art he uses for the most part a good, straightforward style, with no straining for effect. Yet he is not a complete master of his instrument, and his sentences have a tendency to become long and involved. His vocabulary is also a trouble to him. His native speech is not adequate to his ideas, and it is not merely when he is translating from Latin or French that he shows a liking for strange or new words such as 'reduige', 'intumulate', 'invelupted', and 'scelerate'. Together with many words which were to survive in permanent use but were still unfamiliar at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there are not a few which the Translator seems to have coined to die still-born. The abnormal proportion of words which begin with 'in' or 'inter' may be indicative of his Latinity.[1] There is, however, no affectation of eloquence, nor any attempt to display a literary superiority by the use of unfamiliar phrases. What harshness of diction appears is due rather to the pains of one who had to labour with an imperfect instrument than to the clumsiness of the workman. The author's mastery seems to have increased as his work progressed. He does not, indeed, like More, rise at once to a supreme level of literary craftsmanship. Still he attains at times to a sonorous and simple dignity, which is not least marked where he gives himself the freest hand. In such passages he had no call to excuse himself for his rude and

[1] 'discrimes' and 'repeate' (in the sense of to seek again) are direct renderings of the Latin, and 'circle' (coffin) of the French.

homely English, and came near to that famous inditing, the lack of which in his native speech he had lamented. He was not fettered by any slavish adherence to his originals, which he paraphrased freely and put into a genuine English dress. In this, as in his piecing together of his material, he shows at his best no little skill. The mere fact that he had sat down to write with a sense of what was lacking in literary English, and that he nevertheless achieved so much in his performance, gives him some distinction. Before his time no considerable History had been composed in English with so definite a literary intention. Had it been his good fortune to have his work printed, he might justly have been esteemed one of the pioneers of English prose in the sixteenth century. As it is we must recognize him as one of perhaps many unknown workers, who helped to create the instrument which others were to use.

As in the form, so also in the substance of his History the Translator had to create without any model for his guidance. It is true that Polydore Vergil had already set to work on his *Historia Anglica*, endeavouring to weave his materials into a consecutive and readable story, and departing deliberately from the methods of old annalists and chroniclers. When we find a similar design in the Translator's *Life of Henry V*, we are compelled to recognize that Polydore was not in this entirely original. It was the advantage of the foreign scholar that he was more readily able to give expression to a spirit that was already in the air. Polydore had the good fortune in his Latin to supply English writers of History with a model for their conscious imitation. The work of the Translator proves, however, that even in this limited sphere the origins of the literary Renaissance in England must be carried back further. It was, of course, a happy chance for the Translator that his subject had already been handled by Tito Livio with literary skill on classical models. But had he contented himself simply with translating a book, which so well served his purpose, into English, he would not in a literary sense have accomplished anything noteworthy. It was because he designed deliberately to supplement his main authority from other sources, and interwove his additions with literary skill, that he deserves to be regarded as an historian. There is

indeed nothing profound in his treatment, and commonly he paraphrases Tito Livio without any material additions. But in the very act of paraphrasing he does impart to his narrative a personality which is his own, if for no other reason than that he reads into it something which was not in the original. Nor for that matter does he fail from time to time to attempt in a simple way to furnish us with some critical comparison of sources. So the additions to Tito Livio's *Vita Henrici* are not always mere interpolations more or less skilfully inserted, but sometimes take the form of a new narrative reconstructed from more than one original. But however simple the methods were by which he contexed and adjoined his materials, he deserves credit for the care with which he entitled in the margin of what authority every sentence is taken.[1] If, moreover, his criticism and construction were simple, he was not without other qualities of the historian. It does not go for nothing that he had a purpose in writing, even though it were no more than to describe his hero as a model for imitation by other Princes. This didactic purpose pervades the whole work. The thread of the main narrative is constantly broken for moralizations by the Translator.[2] If these moralizations are simple and obvious, and in themselves of no great value, they serve to emphasize the writer's conception of his hero, and to give a unity to his own work. Their spirit is different from that of the bias of a contemporary eulogist. They are the endeavour of an historian to draw instruction from the past for the benefit of the present. Their didactic purpose was not purely moral; there is in them a deliberate design to apply the political lesson of the life of Henry V to the times of Henry VIII. However simple or mistaken the lesson and argument may be, they stand.

If it is not possible to claim for the Translator any special excellence either as an author or a historian, yet the circumstance that he was in both capacities conscious that he was striking out a new line for himself entitles him to our favour. Simply as an early specimen of historical literature, and quite apart from its contents, the *First English Life of Henry V* would be noteworthy. Yet it has a greater interest through

[1] See p. 3 below.

[2] See pp. 18, 19, 23, 28, 34, 45, 92.

the preservation in it of no little material which would otherwise have been lost.

Before entering on any critical discussion of the new material contained in the *Life*, it is necessary to describe the sources from which it was derived. Since its main fabric was taken avowedly from the *Vita Henrici Quinti* of Tito Livio, I must begin with a brief account of that writer. Titus Livius Forojuliensis, as he is styled on the title-page of Hearne's edition of his *Vita Henrici Quinti*, appears in the official record of his denization in England[1] as 'Titus Livius de Frulovisiis de Ferraria'. He was a native of Forli, about forty miles from Ferrara, and is better called Tito Livio da Forli. Tito Livio was one of the Italian scholars who were attracted to England by the fame of Humphrey of Gloucester as a patron of letters. He is described as the Duke's 'poet and orator', and it was at Humphrey's suggestion that he wrote his *Life of Henry V*. It appears from the dedication of his work to Henry VI that he had already been 'indigenated' in England, and was then about to return to his native country.[2] In an *Encomium* (or Eulogy) of sixty-three hexameter lines, which he addressed to John Stafford, at that time Bishop of Bath and Wells, but afterwards from 1443 to 1452 Archbishop of Canterbury, Tito declares that he had been anxious to sing the praise of Britain, but since Britons were poor and he was entangled in debt he must go home to Italy.[3] He seems to have left England in 1438 or 1439. After a visit to Milan he went to Toulouse, where he stayed long enough to graduate as doctor. From Toulouse he journeyed to Barcelona, whence, apparently in 1440, he wrote to his friend Pier Candido Decembri, the Milanese humanist, sending him a copy of his *Life of Henry V*.[4] Of Tito Livio himself no more is known, but many years afterwards Decembri translated his friend's history into Italian and dedicated it to Francesco Sforza in 1463; a copy of this translation is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna.[5] Tito

[1] *Foedera*, x. 661.
[2] See p. 7 below.
[3] Cotton. MS. Claudius, E. iii, f. 353vo.
[4] *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, Ser. II (Anno xx), vol. x, pp. 63, 428.
[5] No. 2610. See Dr. Wylie's article in the *English Historical Review*, xxiv. 84–9.

Livio tells us that Duke Humphrey supplied him with all the monuments of his hero's exploits that could be obtained. He used also other sources of information, both official records and Chronicles written in England, especially a version of the *Brut*, or English Chronicle, which seems to have been compiled from earlier narratives about 1436 or 1437.[1] So though Tito Livio could write nothing from his own knowledge, he had access to trustworthy and authentic material. His *Life* is not without literary merit, and deserves the description of it by Holinshed[2] as written in a good, familiar, and easy style. It may be described as the official biography of Henry V. As such it became the chief source of the narratives of later writers. About 1446 an unknown writer expanded it, with some additions, into the more ornate but for the most part inferior *Life*, which was published by Hearne under the name of Thomas Elmham in 1727.[3] At a later time Polydore Vergil may probably have made use of it. Edward Hall had apparently no knowledge of it, but Stow and Holinshed were both acquainted with it. Stow, however, seems to have depended almost entirely, and Holinshed in great part, on the English version of the Translator. Thomas Goodwin, whose *History of the Reign of Henry V* appeared in 1704, seems only to have had a second-hand knowledge of Tito Livio's *Vita*, which was not printed till 1716. Hearne's text was based on Cotton. MS. Claudius E. iii, collated with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 285; the Translator's Latin original closely resembled the Cambridge MS., which Hearne cites as 'Ben'.

Next to Tito Livio, the author of the *First English Life of Henry V* was avowedly most indebted to Enguerrant de Monstrelet. Monstrelet's *Chronicle* was probably used by the Pseudo-Elmham, and was afterwards very popular in England. Through the use made of it by our writer, and still more freely by Hall and Holinshed, it has coloured the English narratives

[1] See pp. 71, 130 below.

[2] *Chronicles*, iii. 136.

[3] The ascription of this *Life* to Elmham is an error; Elmham's true work was written in 1417, and has now been identified with the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* published by the English Historical Society in 1850. The *Life* which Hearne edited is cited below as the Pseudo-Elmham.

of the French war of the fifteenth century with Burgundian sympathies. This, however, matters less for the reign of Henry V than for that of Henry VI. Moreover, Monstrelet's *Chronicle* was only used by the Translator for the purpose of supplementing his main source in those places wherein the latter seemed most defective.[1]

In the third place our writer depends on the English Chronicles. From his marginal quotations he would seem to have used chiefly the *Policronicon*, which was first printed by Caxton in 1482, and many times afterwards before 1513. Caxton's *Policronicon* was merely an adaptation of the *Brut*, which he had previously printed as the *Chronicles of England* in 1480. Caxton's *Chronicles* followed a version of the *Brut* which was compiled probably between 1464 and 1470. The Translator may have depended on this printed version, but from the manner of his references it is at least probable that he was acquainted with the English Chronicle in some of the numerous manuscript versions. The part of the *Brut* which relates to the reign of Henry V was first compiled towards 1430; Tito Livio, as above noted, seems to have used a somewhat later version. The *Brut* was a popular and not very critical history, but preserves the current and contemporary opinion of the events which it records, and deserves more consideration than it has commonly received. Though the version used by Caxton was a late one, it reproduced for the most part older copies.[2]

The last of the authorities named by the Translator is the report of the honourable and ancient person, the Earl of Ormonde. It is in the passages derived from this source that the interest of our *Life* most greatly consists, since they alone contain matter which is not preserved elsewhere. The history of this Earl of Ormonde has in consequence a special importance for us.

James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormonde, was born in 1392,

[1] Monstrelet's *Chroniques* are cited below from the edition of Douët d'Arcq, published by the Soc. de l'Hist. de France.

[2] The *Policronicon* is quoted below from Blades's *Life of Caxton*, i. 215–65, the *Brut* from the edition by Dr. Brie for the Early English Text Society. The last book of Caxton's *Policronicon* is also printed in the Rolls Series edition of Higden, vol. viii. 522–87.

and succeeded his father in 1405. His estates were put in charge of Thomas of Lancaster, with whom he formed a youthful friendship. In the summer of 1412 he accompanied Thomas, now Duke of Clarence, on his expedition to France. So he may well, as Stow alleges, have been an eye-witness of the scene between Henry of Monmouth and his father as described below.[1] Afterwards he served in the expedition to France in 1415, and is probably the Jaques de Ormond whom Henry V knighted at Pont St. Maxence on the way to Agincourt.[2] He went again to Normandy in April, 1418, serving under Thomas of Clarence, and was present with him at the siege of Rouen.[3] He remained abroad throughout 1419, but Hall[4] must be in error when he mentions him as one of those who were present at the siege of Melun in the autumn of 1420. For early in that year Ormonde was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland, and landed at Waterford to take up his office on April 4.[5] He was succeeded as Lieutenant of Ireland by Edmund, Earl of March, in 1423, and on July 11 of that year had licence to be absent in England for two years.[6] In 1427 he was again Justiciar in Ireland.[7] In April, 1430, he went once more to France.[8] This was two months after the loss of Château Gaillard, and he was thus in a position to have heard the story of the Sire de Barbasan[9] at a time when the circumstances of that soldier's captivity were notorious. He spent the greater part of the next few years in France or England, and afterwards returned to Ireland as Deputy. In November, 1439, the Lords and Commons made complaint against him, 'for both he is aged, unwieldy, and unlusty, for he hath for lack of labour lost in substance all his castles, towns and lordships'. They declared that he had 'often been appeached of many great treasons, the which is proof that he hath not been of good rule.'[10] As a consequence he was removed from his

[1] See pp. xx, xxv and 11 below.
[2] Hall, p. 64; Holinshed, iii. 75.
[3] *Forty-fourth Report of the Deputy-keeper*, pp. 604–5; *Collections of a London Citizen* (Camd. Soc.), p. 7.
[4] p. 102. [5] Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, i, p. lxxvi.
[6] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry VI, i. 128.
[7] *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, Henry VI, p. 3.
[8] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 72. [9] See pp. 167–71 below.
[10] *Statute Rolls, Ireland*, pp. 51, 52.

office, but nevertheless was reappointed for seven years on February 27, 1442.[1] However, four years later, on a fresh charge of treason preferred against him by Thomas Fitz-Thomas, prior of Kilmainham, he was recalled to England. Ormonde and his accuser were to have met in single combat at Smithfield on October 4, 1446; but according to the English Chronicle 'the prior came not into Smithfield where the other was ready'.[2] Another account, however, alleges that the prior appeared, full cleanly harnessed, keeping the field till noon.[3] The King had stopped the combat by taking the Earl into his grace. Ormonde did not obtain full pardon till September 15, 1448,[4] and seems to have been kept in England till 1450, when he went back to Ireland as deputy for Richard of York. He died at Atherdee in Louth on August 23, 1452.

Carte, in his *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*,[5] describes the fourth Earl as a great student and lover of history and antiquity, very proficient in the law of arms, and a benefactor of the Heralds' College at London. James Butler's career shows that he had good opportunity to have learnt the stories told on his authority in the following pages. The story of Barbasan turns upon the laws of arms, and the verses said to have been borne by the Earl of Stafford at Agincourt may well have been recorded by one who took an interest in heraldry.[6] For Ormonde's scholarly tastes we have further evidence in the translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* made at his command by James Yong in 1419-22, and styled *The Gouernaunce of Prynces or Pryvete of Pryvetes*.[7] Yong expanded his translation by introducing some passages topical to Ireland and Ormonde's early career. It is perhaps worth noting that several of the stories attributed to Ormonde would have been illustrative of such a work on the virtues of rulers and principles of kingly government.

Of the exact form of Ormonde's history of Henry V we cannot now be certain. That it was not written till after his death is evident from the reference to the canonization of

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 45, 90.
[2] *Brut*, p. 487.
[3] *Gregory's Chron.*, p. 187.
[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, v. 310.
[5] i. pp. lxxiv–lxxviii, ed. 1851.
[6] See pp. 170 and 190 below.
[7] *Three prose versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, pp. 119–248, Early English Text Society, 1898.

St. Vincent Ferrier, which did not take place till June 29, 1455.[1] Probably it was a compilation made from his material by an author in his service. It may have been simply a collection of reminiscences illustrative of such subjects as the duties of a prince and the law of arms. But from the prominence of Henry V in the extracts which have survived, it seems likely that it was a more regular history, possibly even taking shape as a Life of that King. The Translator in his Proem[2] says: 'I have also added . . . divers other opinions that I have *read* of a certain honourable and ancient person.' It would be barely possible that the Translator of 1513 should himself have received his information from the Earl of Ormonde, who died over sixty years before. But when he thus writes of what he had *read*, he makes it clear that his information was only second-hand. When, however, in his text[3] he writes of what 'I have *heard* of the credible report of my said lord and master, the Earl of Ormonde', it is manifest that he is giving us the veritable words of his original. That original might have been written in Latin, but looking to the date and to the character and circumstances of its composition, it is more reasonable to suppose that it was an English book. The author was, on his own showing, a servant of the Earl of Ormonde. It is possible that, like James Yong thirty years before, he was a professional writer employed by the Earl to put his reminiscences into literary form. But his language when he speaks of what he had often heard the Earl report[4] rather suggests that he wrote from memory after the Earl's death than that he had set down his narrative from his master's dictation. Whatever the exact form or manner of composition, the important thing is that the Translator has preserved for us the precise substance of extracts from a work which was written in the middle of the fifteenth century on information supplied by one who had himself been familiar with the Court and times of Henry V. The story of St. Vincent Ferrier shows us that Ormonde (or his scribe) is not to be trusted for absolute accuracy of detail.[5] But the matter thus preserved is not

[1] See p. xxxvi below.
[2] See p. 3 below.
[3] See pp. 13, 67, 92, 130 below.
[4] See p. 170.
[5] See p. xxxv.

mere tradition handed on from one mouth to another; we may accept it in the main as the narrative of one who had witnessed or learnt from good report at the time the events and scenes which he describes. Several of the stories are not without confirmation from other sources, though Ormonde relates them with a degree of detail which is not to be found elsewhere.

I will now discuss the stories themselves. The first is the statement in the 'Proem' that from the time of his father's death till his own marriage Henry V practised the strictest continence.[1] This is not attributed specifically by the Translator to the Earl of Ormonde. He gives it, however, as what 'I have heard of credible report', an expression which with some variation is commonly used to introduce the Ormonde stories. Nicholas Harpsfield, who alone reproduces it, clearly regards it as told on Ormonde's authority. That Henry V had been somewhat lax in his morality as Prince, but was almost ascetic in his own conduct when he became King, is part of the oft-repeated story of his change into a new man after his accession to the throne.

The second story is that of the Prince's disguising when he came to seek reconciliation with his father after the attempts of his enemies to sow dissension between them.[2] As already noted, this story was given by John Stow with no more than verbal variations from the text of the Translator. Stow states specifically that the story was told by the Translator of Titus Livius 'as he was informed by the Earl of Ormonde, an eye-witness of the same'. This ascription does not appear in the text of the Translator as we possess it. It is possible that this may be an instance of the existence of varying copies of the *Life*. Or Stow (though he seldom garbled his originals) may have made a very warrantable assumption. The story as given below seems clearly to come from the same source as the account of Henry IV's death-bed advice to his son, which follows immediately after. This latter story is told expressly by the Translator on the 'credible report of my said lord and

[1] See p. 5 below. [2] See pp. 11–13 below.

master, the Earl of Ormonde'. As for the authenticity of the story, we know from other sources that the dissension which arose between the Prince and King in the autumn of 1411 was more or less healed at an interview which took place between them in the following summer. For a full understanding of the story it is necessary to summarize briefly the political history of these years.

When the increasing illness of Henry IV incapacitated him from discharging the full duties of kingship, the main direction of the government was entrusted in January, 1410, to the Council, with the young Henry of Monmouth at its head. It was under the Prince's influence[1] that in the autumn of 1411 an expedition was sent to France to support John of Burgundy in his contest with Charles of Orleans. In this matter, as also in some questions of domestic policy, the Prince and his uncles, Henry and Thomas Beaufort, who were his chief councillors, were in conflict with the King and his old adviser, Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Certainly there was a sharp division of political parties at the time, though it may have been concerned rather with methods than with principles. The crisis came in the Parliament of November, 1411, when there seems no doubt that a scheme was mooted in the Beaufort interest to secure the King's abdication in favour of his eldest son.[2] When many years afterwards Henry Beaufort was charged with having 'stirred the Prince to take the governance of this realm upon him, his father the same time being King'[3], he was content to meet his accusers with a general declaration of his loyalty, without any specific denial. The official record[4] glosses over the affair, relating merely

[1] This is expressed clearly in the *Brut* (p. 371): 'The same yere come the ambasceturs of Fraunce yn-to Engelonde, from the Duk of Burgoyne, vnto the prince of Engelonde, King Harryes sone and his heire, for help & socour of men of armes and archers ayens the Duk of Orlyauns. And he sent forth the Earle of Arundell, &c.' See also *Chron. Giles*, p. 61; *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 420; Hardyng, ap. *Lansdowne MS.* 204, f. 208 (see p. xxii below); Livius, p. 4 (see p. 11 below); Nicolas, *London Chron.*, p. 93. Probably all these writers have a common source.

[2] It is definitely stated in *Chron. Giles*, p. 63, and *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 421.

[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 298; *Chronicles of London*. p. 92.

[4] *Rolls of Parliament*, iii. 649.

that on the last day of November the Commons begged the King to thank the Prince and other Lords of the Council for their great labours and diligence. The Prince, on behalf of the Council, declared that they had laboured according to the best of their sense and understanding. The King in reply acknowledged graciously that he was well content with their good and loyal diligence. Whatever face official politeness may have put upon it, the fact remains that, in modern language, there was a change of ministry accompanied by a complete reversal of policy. Henry IV showed himself still capable of vigorous action by promptly removing the Prince and his supporters from the Council. It was no doubt to this incident that Ormonde makes reference when he relates that the King suspected that his son intended to usurp the crown, and for that occasion in part withdrew his singular love and affection from the Prince. The political question had been complicated by a personal one. Thomas of Lancaster had lately married Margaret, Countess of Somerset, widow of John Beaufort. This had led to a dispute with Henry Beaufort, as his brother's executor, who refused to give Thomas that share in the estate to which he thought himself entitled. The Prince of Wales supported his uncle, and Thomas in retaliation made alliance with his brother's political opponents.

Perhaps the best summary of the situation is that given by John Hardyng in the earliest version of his *Chronicle*[1]:—

> The Kynge fell seke than eche day more and more,
> Wharfore the Prince he made, as it was sene,
> Chief of counsayle to ese him in his sore,
> Who to the Duk of Burgoyne sent, I wene,
> The Erle so than of Arrundell, I mene,
> And syr Gylbert Vmframvyle lorde of Kyme,
> Syr John Gray eke his eme's son was that tyme,
>
> To helpe hym in his warr with gode power
> Agayne the Duk that was of Orlyence:
> The Erle came home agayne within half yer,
> Bot syr Gilbert ther helde grete regymence
> With Englisshe folke that drew to his presence
> And ther bycame his men and his soudyours,
> For his manhode and knyghtly wyse labours.
>
> . . . . . .

[1] ap. *Lansdowne MS.* 204, f. 208vo.

Than came thay home with grete thenke and rewarde
So of the Duk of Burgoyne withoute fayle.
Sone after than byfell it aftyrwarde
The Prynce was than discharged of counsayll:
His brother Thomas than, for the Kynges avayll,
Was in his stede than sette by ordynaunce,
For whiche the Prynce and he fell at distaunce.

Wyth whom the Kyng toke parte in grete sekenesse
Agayne the Prynce with all his excellence,
Bot with trety of lordes and sobyrnesse
The Prynce came into his magnyficence
Obeyand hole with all benyvolence
Vnto the Kyng, and fully were accorde
Of all maters of which thay were discorde.

Than sente the Kyng his sonne Thomas ouer se
To helpe the Duk so than of Orlyence
Agayne the Duk of Burgoyne than to be
With all his strengh and hole conuenyence;
And so thurgh ffraunce withouten resistence
In to Guyen he rode with grete honoure
To kepe that londe and be thayr gouernoure.

This is superior to the alternative account of Hardyng's later, and printed, text [1]:—

The Kyng discharged the Prynce fro his counsaille,
And set my lord Syr Thomas in his stede,
Chief of counsayle for the Kyngs more avayle:
For which the Prynce of wrath and wilful hede
Agayne him made debate and frowarde hede,
With whom the Kyng took parte and helde the felde
To time the Prynce vnto the Kyng him yelde.

The variations of Hardyng's two versions involve no essential contradiction. Through his connexion with the Umfravilles he was in a position to be well informed as to both the expedition of 1411 and the political complications which led to the reversal of its policy. The Prince's enemies were not content with his downfall, but endeavoured to foster the dissension between him and his father [2], alleging that he had misapplied money intended for the maintenance of Calais. The young Henry on his part did not remain idle, but sent his messengers

[1] *Chronicle*, p. 369, ed. Ellis.
[2] Otterbourne, p. 271; see also Livius, p. 4, and Pseudo-Elmham, p. 11.

throughout the country to refute the slanders which were brought against him. Thus he won such support from the chief lords of the realm as to justify Ormonde's statement that his court was at all times more abundant than his father's. When the King and his new advisers changed their policy of intervention in France, and promised their aid to Orleans against Burgundy, the Prince would not acquiesce. Whilst the negotiations with Orleans were in progress he had envoys of his own in friendly treaty with Burgundy. When the change of policy was decided, a French authority[1] states that he still endeavoured to delay the expedition and yielded only to his father's authority. This was no doubt in the early days of July, 1412. A London chronicler[2] relates that on June 30 the Prince came to London with much people of lords and gentles. He took up his residence at Durham House, near Ivy Bridge in the Strand (Thomas Langley, the bishop of Durham, being a political adherent of the Beauforts), where he remained till Monday, July 11. Meantime the King was first at the Priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, and afterwards, from the 3rd to the 8th July, at the Bishop's Palace at St. Paul's, whence he removed to Rotherhithe. Meetings of the Council were held on the 8th, 9th, and 10th July,[3] but the Prince does not seem to have been present at any of them. At a Council which was held some time between July and September, the Prince was cleared of the charge of misappropriation by the production of two rolls, which he sent for the purpose, showing that the whole of the money had been paid away in wages to the garrison at Calais.[4] Some form of reconciliation seems to have followed, and the Prince obtained a formal declaration of his innocence. It may have been with

[1] *Chron. S. Denys*, iv. p. 658.
[2] Nicolas, *London Chronicle*, p. 94.
[3] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ii. 30–32.
[4] *id.*, ii. 34. Mr. Solly-Flood (*Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 2nd Ser., iii. 108) thinks the date must have been either 28th or 29th Sept. Dr. Wylie (*Henry IV*, iv. 91) and Professor Oman (*Political History of England*, iv. 227) place this Council in July; they make the Prince present the rolls in person, and combine this incident with the dagger story (see p. 13 below). For this there is no authority. They also make the interview between the King and Prince take place in Westminster Hall; but if the meeting was at Westminster (which is doubtful, see p. xxv below) it was in one of the smaller rooms of the Palace.

the intention of being present in London on this occasion, that we hear of Henry as coming again to the Council with a huge people, on September 23.[1] Or if an earlier date is preferred for this Council, we must assume that even after it his vindication was not complete. Probably it is to this latter visit in September that we must assign the story of an attempted assassination of the Prince by a man who was discovered behind the tapestry of the Green Chamber in the Palace at Westminster, where the Prince was lodging.[2]

It remains to consider the occasion to which Ormonde's story of the Prince's disguising must be assigned. Otterbourne,[3] who seems, as Stow assumed, to refer to the same incident, writes thus:—

'Meantime Prince Henry, offended by the King's friends, who, as it is said, sowed discord between father and son, wrote to all parts of the realm, endeavouring to refute all the machinations of his detractors. And to make his good faith more manifest, about the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (29th June) he came to the King his father with a great company of his friends and followers, the like of which had never been seen before. After a short space he was graciously received by the King, of whom he asked this alone that if his slanderers were convicted of falsehood they should be punished, not in accordance with their deserts but with such measure as was fitting. The King seemed to assent to his request, but said that they ought to await a Parliament, when those persons might be punished by the judgment of their peers.'

No other account is so full and clear. On Otterbourne's evidence I think we are justified in assuming that the scene described by Ormonde took place between June 30 and July 8, when the Prince and King were both in London. At this time only could Ormonde have been present, since he sailed with Clarence for France early in August. Ormonde says the meeting of the King and Prince was at Westminster; in this he may have been mistaken, or it is possible that the King may have come for the purpose from the Bishop's Palace.

The circumstances which led up to the interview have been

[1] Nicolas, *Lond. Chron.*, p. 95. [2] *Chronicles of London*, p. 91.
[3] *Chron.*, p. 271.

related in the previous pages, and seem to be best described in the accounts of Otterbourne and Hardyng. The best other accounts[1] attribute the quarrel of King and Prince definitely to the events of the Parliament of November, 1411. Tito Livio is of course in error when he makes the Prince's appointment to be head of the Council a reward for the successful expedition of 1411; of the subsequent dissension he says only that 'The Prince's fame was for a time injured by the detractation of certain persons'.[2] The Translator, presumably on Ormonde's authority, adds as further reasons for the King's disfavour 'the acts of youth which he exercised more than meanly', and 'the great recourse of people unto him'. The suggestion that the Prince's wild conduct was one cause of his misfortune is noteworthy in another connexion. But the main interest of Ormonde's narrative consists in the details of the Prince's fanciful attire, of his care to avoid any suspicion of mistrust, and of his conversation with his father. The whole story, which till this present had been known only through Stow, has been questioned by some modern writers. Sharon Turner[3] rejected it 'because there seems no reason for the Prince's uncouth attire'. Lingard[4] thought it 'displayed the usual eccentricity of his character'. Tyler[5] held it very problematical whether we ought to accept this strange story of 'a mountebank's disguise'. Dr. Wylie,[6] however, quotes well from Chaucer[7]:

> Wraught was his robe in straunge gyse,
> And al-to-slittered for quayntyse.

Others have thought that Henry's dress had reference to his stay at Queen's College, Oxford, the needles (aiguilles) being reminiscent of Eglesfield, the founder[8]; by an ancient custom at Queen's College, the Bursar on New Year's day presents every one who dines in hall with a silk-threaded needle, saying

[1] *Chron. Giles*, p. 63; *Eulogium*, iii. 421.
[2] P. 4; the Pseudo-Elmham, p. 11, is fuller, but does not really add anything.
[3] *History of England*, ii. 388.
[4] *History of England*, iii. 455.
[5] *Memorials of Henry V*, i. 306.
[6] *Henry IV*, iv. 90.
[7] *Works*, i. 128; ed. Skeat.
[8] Strickland, *Queens of England*, i. 502, where the original is considerably enlarged.

to him, 'Take this and be thrifty'.[1] If we must seek an explanation of the fancy on Henry's part, we may perhaps suppose that the needles were to be emblematical of heedful diligence in duty.

The Translator begins his third story[2] of the King's advice to his son as a direct continuation of the second: 'I remember also to have heard of the credible report of my said lord and master the Earl of Ormonde.' Stow again reproduces the Translator's narrative with exactitude, but on this occasion omits the reference to Ormonde, and gives the story on the authority of Livius. He attributes it to February, 1413, a date which is not unlikely. Tyler,[3] commenting on the story, writes: 'The particulars as recorded by Stow are probably more the fruits of the writer's imagination than the faithful transcript of any recorded sentiments.' This was an unfortunate criticism, for Stow, as usual, was a faithful transcriber. Ormonde on his own part may, and indeed must, have drawn somewhat on his imagination for the speeches. Still we need not doubt that he records a version of what was current report in the Court at the time.

Stories of Henry IV's death-bed are not uncommon. The most famous is that which relates how the Prince stole the crown from the King's bedside, believing that he was already dead. This rests only on the authority of Monstrelet[4], and is not found in any contemporary English authority. The best accredited is perhaps that of Capgrave[5], who relates that when Henry's confessor, John Tille, urged him to repentance for his usurpation, the King made answer, that he could set no remedy, 'for my children will not suffer the regalye to go out of our lineage'. The same idea appears in Monstrelet, where the King asks his son how he should have any right to the crown 'since as you know well, I never had any'. 'My lord,' was the Prince's answer, 'as you have kept and guarded it by the sword, so do I intend to guard it all my life.' Whereto the King replied: 'Do as it seemeth good to you; for myself

[1] Luders, *Character of Henry V*, p. 148.
[2] See pp. 13–16 below.
[3] *Memorials of Henry V*, i. 307.
[4] *Chroniques*, ii. 338.
[5] *Chronicle of England*, p. 302.

I commit me to God, and pray that He will take me to His mercy.' In both these accounts we have the same idea which finds expression in Ormonde's story of how the King sore repented him that he had ever charged himself with the crown, and of the high stomach with which the Prince declared that he would maintain his rights.

Other speeches are those given by Thomas Elmham in his supposed 'Letter from Henry IV to his son',[1] by Capgrave[2], and by John Strecche. Elmham makes the king point out to his son how his ancient vigour was turned to weakness, and advise him to swerve not to the right hand or to the left, to be cautious in prosperity and patient in adversity; he bids him pay his debts, and concludes with a blessing to him and his brothers. Capgrave's version is in a similar strain: See how your father, once valiant in arms, now lies dying; love and fear God; have only one wise confessor: be at leisure for God and your realm, but not for pleasures and sports[3]; do not listen to those who would sew pillow-cases on all armholes[4]: Finally he charges him to pay his debts, and concludes with his blessing. The speech given by Strecche is much to the same effect, with a further charge to love his brethren.[5] Strecche makes the speech part of the scene at the King's actual death-bed in the Jerusalem Chamber. The Pseudo-Elmham[6] professes to give the King's dying words, but they are merely a rhetorical expansion of the statement of Tito Livio[7], that before the King died he gave his son his blessing. The speeches given by Elmham, Capgrave, and Strecche are

[1] Wright, *Political Songs*, ii. 120.

[2] *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, pp. 110–11.

[3] This almost looks like a covert allusion to the Prince's youthful wildness.

[4] Ezekiel xiii. 18.

[5] *Additional MS.*, 35295, f. 264vo. As this Chronicle has never been printed I will quote the speech in full:—'Fili, cerne, corpus tui genitoris, quod olim procerum et insigne fuit et multis timidum et valde nobile, set fili, eccine, modo vermibus esca data, quia iam ad mortem tendo. Fili mi, deum time, et mandata eius obserua; eius ecclesiam orna et honora; fratres tuos dilige; et mea solue debita; populum rege; iuste iudica; secundum deum in omnibus te guberna. Set regnum istud, in quo multum laboramus, tibi linquo, et omnia mea bona terrena cum nostri saluatoris gratia et benevolentia, et cum mea eciam benedictione sempiterna. Nam ego spero deum videre in viuentium terra, et hic ego mortem prestolor sub dei mei mitissima misericordia.'

[6] pp. 13, 14.

[7] p. 5.

commonplace; but they resemble one another, and also Ormonde's account, sufficiently to justify us in supposing that they are not mere invention. At all events these various independent accounts make it certain that reports of some special advice given by the dying King to his son were current at the time.

As for that matter in Ormonde's speeches which is peculiar, it was natural that Henry IV should have felt anxious about the possibilities of enmity between the two brothers, remembering not only their late rivalry, but also his own youthful experiences of the family feuds of royal princes. Henry V on his part was to show that as King he could forget the past, and command and win the loyal support of his brothers; also that he would not overlook any treason amongst those of his own family, but punish with severity Richard of Cambridge, his cousin, and Henry Scrope, his trusted friend and councillor.

The next story[1] is introduced by the Translator, 'as I have learned of the credence before rehearsed, and also as the common fame is'. Stow repeats it as from Livius, without anything to show whence it really came. The subject is of Henry's riotous youth, and how he would lie in wait for and rob his own receivers. It is no doubt parcel of the story[2] a little further on which relates how after his accession to the throne Henry V called to him the followers of his young acts and dismissed them with rich gifts. So it will be convenient to take the two together. That these stories were matter of common fame we know from the brief but independent narrative of Robert Fabyan:[3]

'This man, before the death of his fader, applyed him unto all vyce and insolency, and drewe unto hym all ryottours and wylde disposed persones; but after he was admytted to the rule of the lande, anone and suddenly he became a newe man, and tourned al that rage into sobernesse and wyse sadnesse, and the vyce into constant vertue. And for he wolde contynewe the vertue, and not to be reduced thereunto by the familiarytie of his olde nyse company, he therefore, after

[1] See p. 17 below. [2] See p. 19 below. [3] *Chron.*, p. 577.

rewardes to them gyven, charged theym upon payne of theyr lyves, that none of theym were so hardy to come within x. myle of such place as he were lodgyd, after a day by him assigned.'

Polydore Vergil[1] and Hall[2] have matter of a similar character which they probably derived from Fabyan. For the story of Henry's riotous companions as Prince, and dismissal of them after he became King, Fabyan and the Translator of Livius, as reproduced by Stow, are the leading authorities. But this story must be taken with the common statement of early writers that Henry had lived wildly as Prince, but reformed his conduct after he became King. Tito Livio[3] says briefly: 'he exercised meanly the feats of Venus and of Mars and other pastimes of youth for so long as the King his father lived'; but afterwards 'he reformed and amended his life and manners, so that there was never no youth nor wildness that might have any place in him, but all his acts were suddenly changed into gravity and discretion.' This was amplified by the Pseudo-Elmham[4] in his usual rhetorical manner. Even in Henry's own lifetime Walsingham had written thus[5]:

'As soon as he was made King he was changed suddenly into another man, zealous for honesty, modesty and gravity, there being no sort of virtue that he was not anxious to display.'

Very similar is the story in the version of the *Brut*[6] known as *Caxton's Chronicles*, which in its present shape was written between 1464 and 1470:—

'He was a noble prince after he was King and crowned. Howbeit, tofore in his youth he had been wild and reckless, and spared nothing of his lusts and desires, but accomplished them after his liking; but as soon as he was crowned, anointed and sacred, anon suddenly he was changed into a new man, and set all his intent to live virtuously, in maintaining of Holy Church, destroying of heretics, keeping justice, and defending of his realm and subjects.'

[1] *Angl. Hist.*, p. 439, ed. 1557. [2] *Chron.*, p. 46.
[3] pp. 4, 5; see p. 17 below; see also what the Translator says of Henry's mutability in his youth on p. 40.
[4] pp. 12, 15. [5] *Hist. Angl.*, ii. 290. [6] *Brut*, p. 494.

In another and unique version of the *Brut*, contained in Lambeth MS. 84, of which the date can be fixed precisely to the spring of 1479, there is a curious tale which gives in a fuller form the legend preserved by Ormonde and Fabyan. It is too long to quote and I must be content to summarize it. Henry, as Prince of Wales, intended greatly to riot, and drew to wild company. Divers gentlemen and gentlewomen followed his will and his desire, and all his household were well pleased with his governance except four men, who were full heavy and sore and fain would have him forsake riot; therefore he hated these four men most of all his household. When Henry became King he summoned all his household to come before him. They were all fully glad, supposing that he would promote them to great offices. In their familiarity they came winking and smiling, and making a nice semblance unto him. But the King kept his countenance sadly, and said unto them: 'Sirs, ye are the people that I have cherished and maintained in riot and wild governance; and here I give you all in commandment that from this day forward ye forsake all misgovernance and live after the laws of Almighty God, and of our land.' Then he rewarded them all richly, and bade them void his household and live as good men, and never more come into his presence, because he would have no occasion whereby he should fall to riot again. But the four persons, which were sorry of his governance, he loved afterwards best, and made them great lords. Then King Henry sent to Dame Katherine Swynford,[2] Countess of Hereford, which was a well-governed woman, and kept the most worshipful household and the best ruled in the land, for men that were of good disposition. And she sent him twelve gentlemen of sad governance. 'And so this gracious King forsook all wildness and kept strictly his laws with righteousness and justice.'

The Ormonde story shows that this legend was a good deal

[1] *Brut*, pp. 594–5; the passage is quoted by Dr. Brie for the first time.

[2] This is a strange error. Catherine Swynford, who was step-mother of Henry IV and duchess of Lancaster, died in 1403. Henry V's own grandmother, Joan Bohun, Countess of Hereford, survived till 1419. Probably the original story had simply 'his grandmother, the Countess of Hereford', which was interpreted by a later compiler to mean Catherine Swynford, as his grandmother by marriage.

older than the date of the Lambeth MS. The existence of three various versions of the story of Henry's riotous company is sufficient proof that the legend was widely spread. It is, moreover, clear that it can be traced back at least to the middle of the fifteenth century. It is therefore vain to write, as Mr. Solly-Flood did, of Robert Fabyan having laid the foundation-stone of an edifice of calumny eighty years after Henry's death: Fabyan here as elsewhere only reproduces what he found in earlier writers. Even Mr. Solly-Flood admits that the story of the Prince robbing his own receivers may be an exaggeration of some harmless freak.[1] As for the absence of any evidence in records of gifts made by the new King to unworthy servants, that is not to be wondered at. The reason for such presents would hardly appear openly; nor need they have been formal grants. As a matter of fact, many servants of Henry V did receive rewards in the early months of his reign, though there is nothing to show that they did not deserve them. The larger question of Henry's change of conduct rests on still better and older authority. Whatever construction we may put upon it, it does not seem possible to reject it as entirely unfounded. That Henry of Monmouth was recklessly dissolute during the years when he was busy with the Welsh war, and with the direction of the Council, it is impossible to believe. But with all allowance for possible distortion through the ecclesiastical prejudices of contemporary chroniclers, there must have been some foundation for the story of his change into a new man. This does not involve the acceptance of the exaggerated form given to the story by Elizabethan dramatists. Of the legends of Henry's riotous conduct as Prince I shall, however, have something more to say later on.

The next of the Ormonde stories is the statement that Henry intended to establish a house of Celestins at Isleworth, but that the brethren, whom he brought from France, went back, either because they could not agree with the manner of the country or with the air.[2] This is confirmed by the

[1] *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, iii. 114, 119, 129.
[2] See p. 20 below.

statement of Walsingham [1] that Henry founded three monasteries at Sheen, for Carthusians, Celestins, and Brigittines, and by the fact that only the first and the third of these houses had any permanent existence. The reason for the failure of the Celestin foundation seems to be peculiar to the notice below. Otherwise the story is only remarkable for the description of it by the Translator as 'heard of the tofore credible report'.

Thus far the Ormonde stories have been concerned chiefly with what we may call the Legend of Henry as Prince. The remainder are of a different character, and relate to historic events, though three of them are of interest as illustrating the King's character. The other, and first, does not concern Henry himself at all. This is the story [2] of how when Sigismund, King of the Romans, came to England on April 30, 1416, Humphrey of Gloucester rode into the water at Dover to meet him with sword drawn, and would not suffer him to land until he had declared that he did not claim to exercise any Imperial rights in England. This story has been familiar through Holinshed,[3] who clearly borrowed it from the Translator, though he attributes it to Livio himself. The incident receives corroboration from the existence of a similar story in the *Life of Henry V* written by Robert Redmayne [4] about 1540. But in that version the scene takes place at Calais, where Sigismund arrived by sea from Boulogne, and was not allowed to land till he had given the required assurance to the Earl of Warwick, as captain of the town. There has been a disposition to question the truth of the tale as resting chiefly on the authority of Holinshed, and likely to have been invented in the sixteenth century from a desire to emphasize the complete political independence of England.[5] But though Ormonde gives it only as what he had 'heard of credible report', there is nothing improbable about it. The theory of the imperial dignity of the English crown was familiar in the

[1] *Hist. Angl.*, ii. 300.
[2] See pp. 67 and 68 below.
[3] *Chron.*, iii. 85.
[4] *Memorials of Henry V*, p. 49.
[5] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxviii. 241; Mr. Vickers (*Humphrey of Gloucester*, p. 37) argues in favour of the story.

time of Henry V. John Page, in his poem on the Siege of Rouen,[1] which was probably composed in 1420, writes thus of Henry V:—

'He ys Kyng excellent,
And vnto non othyr obedyent,
That levyth here in erthe be ryght,
But only vnto God almyght,
Withyn his owne emperoure,
And also Kyng and conqueroure.'

The story is one which would have appealed to Ormonde as illustrative of courtly etiquette and the Law of Heralds.

It is curious and unfortunate that we have no story from Ormonde of the campaign of Agincourt, in which he was present. Curious also that his first story of the French wars is one that he can have known only by hearsay. This is of the division of the spoil after the fall of Caen in September, 1417, nearly eight months before the Earl went again to France. It is introduced in the usual way as 'heard of the report of the tofore named Earl of Ormonde',[2] and is to the effect that after the capture of the town the King had all the greatest riches collected together and given to his brother Clarence, who divided them amongst his people who had deserved it. Henry reserved for himself only 'a goodly French book, of what history I have not heard'. Remembering Henry's literary tastes for works on hunting, goodly tales, and histories, we may conjecture that it was a volume of French Chronicles, or Romances of chivalry. At all events his choice is a characteristic personal touch. The story is further remarkable, since it does not appear in any contemporary writer, and is not quoted by any of the sixteenth-century historians.

The next story also is one that is peculiar to Ormonde. Its authenticity is, however, confirmed from other sources, though in some small details it can be shown to be inaccurate. Ormonde states that during the siege of Rouen a holy friar of the Order of St. Francis, whose name was Vincent, came and preached before the King.[3] It is quite obvious that this

[1] *Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 24.
[2] See p. 92 below.
[3] See pp. 130–2 below.

intends the famous Spanish friar, St. Vincent Ferrier, who did indeed come to preach before Henry V, though he was a Dominican. Thomas Otterbourne[1] relates that in 1418 Vincent Ferrier came at Henry's request to preach before him at Caen, and there foretold the death of the Count of Armagnac. Now Henry was at Caen in 1418 from April 23 till the end of May, and Armagnac was killed at Paris on June 12. The date for Otterbourne's story can therefore be fixed quite closely. Other information supports the date thus obtained. At the time of the process for Vincent's canonization in 1455 Oliver Rouxel deposed that he heard the English Herald deliver the King's summons to Vincent at Rennes. Various witnesses testified that at Caen Vincent healed a dumb child in the presence of the King and all the people. Eudo David not only witnessed this miracle, but also saw and heard Vincent celebrate mass and preach at Caen in the presence of the King, the Duke of Clarence, and many other lords.[2] St. Vincent Ferrier, who was making a missionary journey through northern France, is known to have been at Rennes on April 20–22, 1418. Though we cannot get so precise a date for his visit to Caen, all the evidence shows that it took place in the following month. Ormonde himself joined the English army at Caen about the end of April, so he may well have heard the friar's sermon, and have been one of the lords who were sitting in the hall when Vincent came out from his interview with the King and addressed to them his memorable words of commendation. The details given by Ormonde are peculiar, but they bear the impress of truth. His story is noteworthy both for the boldness of the preacher and for the proof which it affords of the personal power that Henry could exercise on the mind of one who, like himself, was convinced that he had a divine mission. The great preacher, who travelled through France to denounce the corruption of the time, found himself confronted with a Prince who believed that he was the scourge of God to punish it. It was in the same temper that Henry told his prisoners after Agincourt that his victory was not due to his own prowess, but was the work of God who

[1] *Chron.*, p. 280.
[2] H. Fages, *Hist. de St. Vincent Ferrier*, iii. 96, 195, 217–9, 246–7.

was wroth for their sins.[1] With St. Vincent Ferrier's movements in the latter part of 1418 we are sufficiently acquainted to know that he could not have visited the English camp before Rouen. There is nothing very strange in the fact that Ormonde, when repeating the story from memory, should have misplaced it. Vincent died at Vannes on April 5, 1419; he was not canonized till June 23, 1455. It is the reference to the latter event which enables us to fix the earliest date at which Ormonde's narrative was written down. It is, I think, clear that this reference is part of the original text, and not an interpolation made by the Translator in 1513.

It is again rather strange that Ormonde has left us no story of the long siege of Rouen, at which he served. It is true that Holinshed[2] gives the 'Translator of Livius' as his authority for the fate of Alain Blanchard. But the Translator seems only to expand Tito Livio a little, after his accustomed manner, and not to add anything from another source.[3] The Translator's own comment, 'What offence he had committed against the King my author maketh no mencion,' is omitted by Holinshed.

We now come to the last of Ormonde's tales, the long and interesting history of the Sire de Barbasan.[4] This is in two sections, the first describing Barbasan's combat with Henry in the mines at Melun, and the second his subsequent captivity and release. Both are given in a somewhat shortened form by Holinshed,[5] who quotes 'The Translator of Livius' as his authority for the first, but repeats the second without any acknowledgement. As for the main incident of the combat, Tito Livio[6] makes no mention of the fighting in the mines at Melun, but relates that Barbasan defended himself from the charge of complicity in the murder of John of Burgundy, declaring that he had never consented thereto, and so escaped capital punishment, but was imprisoned for nine years, first at Paris and afterwards at Château Gaillard. The Pseudo-Elmham[7] mentions that Henry V had taken a foremost part in

[1] *Chron. S. Denys*, v. 581.
[2] *Chronicles*, iii. 104.
[3] See p. 136 below.
[4] See pp. 167–71 below.
[5] *Chronicles*, iii. 122–3.
[6] p. 90.
[7] p. 286.

the duels in the mines, but omits all reference to Barbasan's subsequent fate. The latter writer seems to derive his information from one version of Monstrelet,[1] where there is mention that Henry and Philip of Burgundy both took part in the fighting. Waurin[2] has a very similar account. Chastellain,[3] somewhat later, is more detailed:

'The English King had a barrier erected in the mine, where he and the Duke of Burgundy, with a courage equal to their renown, fought for a long space hand to hand, with stroke of sword and lance, against two of their enemies, the one with Barbasan, and the other with Ovide Bourgeois. The glory of these men in fighting with two such high princes, and of those princes in having withstood two of the most valiant and tried soldiers of the time, is not a thing to be left untold.'

So Ormonde's story is not inauthentic, though he alone has supplied the romantic details to which it owes its charm. We may compare with it the stories of how Edward III fought unknown with Eustace de Ribaumont at Calais in 1349, and how John of Gaunt engaged in single combat with Jehan de Villemur before Limoges in 1370.[4] Ormonde does not give his story of his own knowledge; for though Hall[5] includes Ormonde in a list of those who were present at Melun, we know that the Earl had left France early in 1420 to take up his office as deputy in Ireland.[6] The combat in the mines is clearly part of the story which Ormonde learnt during his later service in France. Château Gaillard was recovered by the French, and Barbasan was released in February, 1430. Ormonde came again to France in the following April, and then no doubt heard the whole story. Barbasan's chivalrous refusal to leave his prison till he was absolved from his oath is characteristic of the man who had denounced the murder of John of Burgundy as a blot on his master's honour,[7] and had held his own charge so nobly at Melun. That his escape from capital punishment should have been due to a technical point in the Law of Arms would of course have appealed to

[1] Ed. Buchon, p. 487; the text in Douët d'Arcq's edition (iii. 411–2) is different.
[2] ii. 328, Rolls Ser.
[3] i. 157.
[4] Froissart, iv. 79–81, vii. 251, ed. Luce.
[5] *Chronicle*, p. 102.
[6] See p. xvii above.
[7] Monstrelet, iii. 347.

Ormonde. We are entitled to believe that it was not less welcome to Henry V, who could thus spare a gallant enemy in spite of his oath to punish all supporters of the Dauphin who could not clear themselves of complicity in the murder of John of Burgundy.[1]

The stories preserved by the Earl of Ormonde are concerned so much with the traditions of the youthful career and character of Henry V that it is not out of place to touch briefly on those popular stories which do not appear amongst them. The most famous is the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, which is too well known to need repetition. It is first found in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governor*, which was printed in 1531. In this version, when the Judge would not release the Prince's servant, the Prince all in a fury came up to the place of judgement, men thinking that he would have slain the Judge. The Judge, all unmoved, commits him to the prison of the King's Bench. Mr. Solly-Flood, in criticizing the story, alleged that 'there was not then, and never had been, neither was there ever for many years afterwards, such a place of custody as the prison of the King's Bench, neither did the Court of King's Bench ever commit to any prison at all'.[2] Recently Mr. Vernon Harcourt[3] has shown that this criticism is inaccurate. As regards a further criticism, which sees an inherent improbability in the sending of the King's son to prison, Mr. Harcourt has pointed out that the actual words given by Elyot are that the Prince 'departed and went to the King's Bench', and has adduced evidence that 'going to the King's Bench was a symbolic act, signifying submission to the jurisdiction'.[4] However, such criticism and reply concern only the possibility of the incident, and do not touch the ultimate form of the legend.

A few years after Elyot, Robert Redmayne[5] refers to the story, with the addition that the Prince struck the Chief Justice, as being the cause of Henry's removal from the

[1] Tito Livio, p. 90, says Barbasan was found 'conscium dictae necis, non tamen culpabilem', and so escaped the penalty of death.
[2] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2nd Ser., iii. 57.
[3] *id.*, 3rd Ser., iv. 53, 54.
[4] *id.*, iv. 55.
[5] *Memorials of Henry V*, p. 11.

Council. Hall[1] has much the same account as Redmayne, describing how the Prince 'strake the Chief Justice with his fist in the face'; he further attaches to this story the alleged dismissal by Henry, when he became King, of the familiar companions with whom he had passed his young age. Stow[2] gives the story without addition in Elyot's own words. But Holinshed[3] goes back to the version of Hall. So far the Chief Justice has been nameless, as he still is in Shakespeare. If, however, the story has any substance, William Gascoigne, who was Chief Justice from 1400 to 1413, must be intended. Sir John Whiddon, who was a judge of the Queen's Bench from 1553 to 1576, is said to have referred to the committal of the Prince to prison by Gascoigne; the authority for this is Richard Crompton's *Authoritie et Jurisdiction des Courts*[4], which appeared in 1594; but the accuracy of the statement is open to question,[5] and in any case it rests only on the fact that Gascoigne was Chief Justice throughout the reign of Henry IV. One germ of the legend is no doubt to be found in the tale of the 'hurling in Eastcheap' in 1410, wherein Henry's brothers Thomas and John were concerned. This tale is given briefly in various London Chronicles.[6] But the most noteworthy account is that given by Stow,[7] who relates that upon St. John the Baptist Eve, 1410, Thomas and John, the King's sons, were at supper in Eastcheap, when there happened a great debate between their men and other of the Court, until the Mayor and sheriffs with other of the citizens appeased the same. For this they were called to answer before the King, when William Gascoigne, Chief Justice, required them to put them in the King's grace; whereunto they answered that they had not offended, but had done their best in stinting debate and maintaining of the peace: upon which answer the King remitted all his ire and dismissed them. Stow first gave the story in the 1570 edition of his *Summary of English Chronicles*, from the 'Register of Mayors'. This

[1] *Chron.*, p. 46.
[2] *Annales*, pp. 342–3, ed. 1631.
[3] *Chronicles*, iii. 61.
[4] p. 79.
[5] See Solly-Flood ap. *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, iii. 59, 60.
[6] See *Chronicles of London*, pp. 268, 341.
[7] *Survey of London*, i. 217; it had appeared previously in his *Summary* and *Annales*.

authority, which Stow quotes often, was clearly in some respects a fuller version of the London Chronicle than any of those now extant. It is, I think, quite likely that Elyot's story may have been based on some London Chronicle since lost, though very probably supplemented from the tradition of the law-courts. At all events, having regard to the early confirmation of other legends of Henry V afforded by Ormonde's stories, it would be rash to dismiss it altogether, or to find in it, as some [1] have done, no more than a reminiscence of a similar authentic incident in the life of Edward II when Prince of Wales. At the same time the tale in the London Chronicles does not touch Henry V at all, and if Henry was concerned in any such incident the date must, as Dr. Wylie [2] suggests, have been earlier than 1410, or 1411. To that extent we must also assume that the legend had some other foundation additional to the story of the 'hurling in Eastcheap'. Mr. L. W. Vernon Harcourt [3] has lately argued that the story may be connected with a gross contempt of court in which Sir John Fastolf of Nacton was concerned in 1403. It is true that Shakespeare [4] places the incident before the time of Archbishop Scrope's rebellion in 1405. But the author of *The Famous Victories* [5] not less clearly connects it with the 'hurling in Eastcheap', and puts it towards the close of the reign of Henry IV. Shakespeare [6] himself makes allusion to the intervention of the sheriff, and puts this incident before the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. Of course no argument can be built on the chronology of the dramatists, who allowed themselves the fullest licence in the handling of the details of their history. It is equally vain to suppose that the dispute with the Chief Justice had anything to do with the Prince's dismissal from the Council. The idea that Henry's youthful riots led in part to his political disgrace seems to appear first in the Translator.[7]

It is possible that something may have been contributed to

[1] Solly-Flood, *u. s.*, iii. 150, 151.
[2] *Henry IV*, iv 95–9, and the notes there.
[3] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd Ser., iv. 58–60.
[4] *Henry IV*, pt. ii, act ii, sc. 2.
[5] *Shakespeare's Library*, pt. ii, vol. i, pp. 331–5.
[6] *Henry IV*, pt. i, act ii, sc. 4.
[7] See p. 11 below.

raised a fray, so that they knew not what to do, but for their own safeguard sent him to ward. Thereupon the King discharges them. 'Well have they done and like faithful subjects.'

This is a very palpable reproduction of Stow's story from the 'Register of Mayors'. It is followed immediately by the dispute of the Prince and the Chief Justice, which is based on Holinshed and represents Henry as giving the Judge a box on the ear. So the Prince is committed to the Fleet, but almost at once reappears at liberty in the company of Ned and Tom. When Henry is king the first thing he will do 'shall be to put my Lord Chief Justice out of office', and make Ned his Chief Justice. Henry is going to the Court, for his father lies very sick.

'*Jockey*. Will you go to the Court with that coat so full of needles?

Hen. V. Cloak, ilat-holes, needles and all was of mine own devising, and therefore I will wear it.

Tom. I pray you my Lord, what may be the meaning thereof?

Hen. V. Why man, 'tis a sign that I stand upon thorns, till the Crown be on my head.

Jockey. Or that every needle might be a prick to their hearts that repine at your doings.'

So the Prince goes to the Court, and is admitted to the presence of the King, who laments for his son, 'no sooner out of one prison, but into another.' Reversing the account in Ormonde's story, the King is made to order that none come with his son. The Prince enters with a dagger in his hand. The King rebukes him:

'Oh my son, thou knowest that these thy doings will end thy father's days.'

'Thou fearest not to approach the presence of thy sick father in that disguised sort. I tell thee, my son, that there is never a needle in thy cloak, but it is a prick to my heart . . . and wherefore thou bringest that dagger in thy hand I know not but by conjecture.'

In a feeble travesty of the original the Prince renders the dagger to his father, abandons his wild and reprobate company, and tears the ruffianly cloak from his back. So the King pardons him, and the Prince declares:

'Even this day I am born new again.'

The next scene opens on the King's death-bed. The Prince

enters to explain that he had removed the crown, believing his father was already dead. This and the brief subsequent speeches, closing with the King's actual death, rest on the account of Monstrelet in Holinshed's version.

The new reign requires naturally a new scene. The Prince's boon companions are anticipating their good fortune, when Henry appears, bids them mend their manners, and orders them

> 'Not upon pain of death to approach my presence
> By ten miles space, then if I hear well of you,
> It may be I will do somewhat for you.'

His old nice company thus disposed of, Henry bids the Archbishop of Canterbury speak on the embassy to France. There is a brief debate, modelled on Holinshed's narrative after Hall. The French ambassadors deliver the tun of tennis-balls, and Henry declares for war. Before the scene changes to France the Chief Justice comes in, is reconciled to the new King, and made Protector of the Realm in his absence. The second half of the play is taken up with the invasion of France, the battle of Agincourt, the courting of Katherine, and Henry's triumph. Its main historical fabric is derived from Holinshed, and is of no special interest in the present connexion.

In *The Famous Victories* the legend of Prince Henry's riotous youth is strung together very loosely from the Ormonde stories and Stow's narrative of 'the hurling in Eastcheap', with some additions from Holinshed. Sir John Oldcastle appears in a small part as one of Henry's companions, but he is no more Falstaff than he is the Oldcastle of real life. The old play is poor stuff both as drama and literature, but it shows us very clearly how the material was brought together for more artistic treatment.

In Shakespeare's plays the scenes of Henry's riotous youth are similarly compounded from the Ormonde stories of his interview with his father, of his loose companions, and dismissal of his unworthy favourites when he became king. With these are similarly interwoven the stories of the hurling in Eastcheap, and of the quarrel with the Chief Justice, together with some details found in Holinshed, but not in Stow nor in the Translator. The unauthentic Falstaff, who now plays so large a part in the legend, is substantially of the poet's own creation.

In the *First Part of Henry IV* the Prince and his boon companions plan the robbery on Gadshill, and the Prince appears to take the booty from his own servant.[1] In this Shakespeare seems to go back to the original story of how Henry would lie in wait for and rob *his own* receivers. The scene with Falstaff in Eastcheap,[2] when the Prince bids the old knight stand for his father and examine him upon the particulars of his life, is perhaps a sort of travesty on the story of the interview between Prince and King preserved by Ormonde. The scene seems to close with a direct reminiscence of how the robbed receivers were given their discharge for so much money as they had lost, with special rewards for those who had resisted best, when Henry says: 'The money shall be paid back again with advantage.' The previous intervention of the Sheriff and the watch is borrowed from Stow's story of the 'hurling in Eastcheap', though not in the slavish fashion of *The Famous Victories*. In the old play there was no attempt to make Henry's riotous youth harmonize with his real character. But Shakespeare's Henry

> 'Will so offend to make offence a skill,
> Redeeming time when least men think I will.'

In Act iii, sc. 2 of *Henry IV, Part I* we have the interview of the father and son, for which Shakespeare once more goes back to Ormonde's original story. The King dismisses his lords that he may have some private conference with the Prince, who purges himself:

> 'As, in reproof of many tales devised,—
> Which oft the ear of greatness needs must hear,—
> By smiling pick-thanks and base newsmongers.'

The incidents of the fantastic disguising and the dagger are dropped, but in its spirit Shakespeare's scene reproduces the original more faithfully than did *The Famous Victories*. Though the scene is misdated (Shakespeare puts it before the battle of Shrewsbury) there is an historical touch in its association with the Prince's dismissal:

> 'Thy place in Council thou hast rudely lost,
> Which by thy younger brother is supplied.'

[1] Act i, sc. 2, and Act ii, sc. 2.

[2] Act ii, sc. 4.

In the *Second Part of Henry IV*[1] the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice appears incidentally. This is taken from the version of Holinshed. The Chief Justice is introduced as 'the nobleman who committed the prince for striking him about Bardolph'. He rebukes Falstaff for misleading his master. 'For the box of the ear that the prince gave you, he gave it like a rude prince, and you took it like a sensible lord,' says Falstaff.

The news of his father's sickness brings the Prince to thought of amendment.[2] The King, on his part, has forebodings of what may come of his eldest son's wildness, yet he commends him to Thomas of Clarence[3]:—

'How chance thou art not with the Prince thy brother?
He loves thee, and thou dost neglect him, Thomas;
Thou hast a better place in his affection
Than all thy brothers: cherish it, my boy;
And noble offices thou mayst effect
Of mediation, after I am dead,
Between his greatness and thy other brethren.'

Though the relationship of the brothers is thus turned about, the idea is borrowed clearly from the King's advice to the Prince as given by Ormonde.

The scene where the Prince takes the crown from his father's bedside is, as noted above, derived from Monstrelet through Holinshed. The subsequent speeches, and especially that of the Prince in his defence, may owe something to Ormonde.

The last Act of the *Second Part of Henry IV* is based almost entirely on the composite legend. Warwick and the Chief Justice fear that all will be overturned, and nobles have 'to strike sail to spirits of vile sort'. The new King appears and greets the Chief Justice: 'You are, I think, assured I love you not'; but in reply to the Judge's manly defence bids him, 'still bear the balance and the sword.'—

'You shall be as a father to my youth:
My voice shall sound as you do prompt mine ear;
And I will stoop and humble my intents
To your well-practised, wise directions.
And princes all, believe me, I beseech you;—
My father is gone wild into his grave,

[1] Act i, sc. 2. [2] *Henry IV, Pt. II*, Act ii, sc. 2. [3] *id.*, Act iv, sc. 4.

For in his tomb lie my affections ;
And with his spirit sadly I survive,
To mock the expectation of the world ;
To frustrate prophecies ; and to raze out
Rotten opinion, who hath writ me down
After my seeming. The tide of blood in me
Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now ;
Now doth it turn, and ebb back to the sea ;
Where it shall mingle with the state of floods,
And flow henceforth in formal majesty.'

At the news of the new King's accession Falstaff and his company, like the rioters in the story of the Lambeth manuscript,[1] are full glad with hopes of promotion : [2]

Fal. Away, Bardolph ; saddle my horse.—Master Robert Shallow, choose what office thou wilt in the land, 'tis thine.—Pistol, I will double-charge thee with dignities.

Bard. O joyful day !—
I would not take a knighthood for my fortune.

In this spirit they go to meet the King. 'I will leer upon him, as he comes by' : says Falstaff. They find a rude awaking when the King rejects their approaches : [3]

' Presume not that I am the thing I was :
For Heaven doth know, so shall the world perceive,
That I have turn'd away my former self ;
So will I those that kept me company.
When thou dost hear I am as I have been,
Approach me ; and thou shalt be as thou wast,
The tutor and the feeder of my riots ;
Till then, I banish thee, on pain of death,—
As I have done the rest of my misleaders,—
Not to come near our person by ten mile.
For competence of life I will allow you,
That lack of means enforce you not to evil ;
And, as we hear you do reform yourselves,
We will, according to your strength and qualities
Give you advancement.'

The bulk of this speech is founded on Ormonde's narrative, as preserved by Stow, but with the addition of 'ten mile' from Fabyan's account as given by Holinshed. The favour shown to the Chief Justice, whom the Prince loved not, has probably but an accidental resemblance to the honour bestowed on the four sad lords, whom Henry hated, in the story of the Lambeth manuscript. It is a natural product of the dramatist's art.

[1] See p. xxxi above. [2] *Henry IV, Pt. II*, Act v, sc. 3. [3] *id.*, sc. 5.

Similarly, the hanging of Bardolph recalls how those who were consenting to the Prince's wildness fell after to great mischief and sorrow. However, if the Falstaff of the play is an invention of the poet, there was some foundation in legend, if not in fact, for saying that:

'Harry Monmouth, being in his right wits and his goot judgments, turned away the fat knight with the great pelly-doublet.'[1]

In *Henry V* the wild Prince is left behind, and though Tito Livio and his Translator may have helped to fix the idealized character of Henry as king, much of the historical fabric is derived from other material supplied by Holinshed. The theory that a fear of Church Reform moved the Archbishop of Canterbury to encourage war, and the debate in which the war was decided on,[2] have no place in our *Life*. The former can be traced back to *Caxton's Chronicles*, where it is represented that the clergy 'encouraged the King to challenge Normandy and his right in France to the end to set him a work there, that he should not seek occasion to enter into such matter'[3] (i.e. as the appropriation of the ecclesiastical temporalties). The project of reform itself, by which the lands of the Church were to be turned to the support of

'Full fifteen earls, and fifteen hundred knights,
Six thousand and two hundred good esquires,'

goes back to the Lollard's Bill of 1410 as reproduced by Fabyan from a London chronicle.[4] The speeches attributed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Westmoreland, and to Exeter are sixteenth-century inventions, which first appear in Hall's *Chronicle*, to be borrowed thence by Holinshed. It is to Holinshed also that Shakespeare is indebted for his version of the tennis-ball story.

Some minor details in Shakespeare's plays can be traced with confidence to Tito Livio's *Vita*, and these the Translator's *Life* may have helped to make familiar. Such are the Prince's words when wounded at Shrewsbury[5]:

'Heaven forbid a shallow scratch should drive
The Prince of Wales from such a field as this.'

[1] *Henry V*, Act iv, sc. 7. [2] *id.*, Act i, sc. 2. [3] *Brut*, p. 495.
[4] Fabyan, p. 575; *Chronicles of London*, pp. 65–8.
[5] *Henry IV, Pt. I*, Act v, sc. 4; see p. 9 below.

The reference to the Scrope and Cambridge plot is derived from some fuller source; though the Translator had made additions to Tito Livio in his statements that the conspirators had been bought with French gold, and that Scrope had been the King's bedfellow.[1] For other matter the source can be found with certainty in Tito Livio or the Translator. As for instances, the theft of a pyx by Bardolph,[2] and the King's reply to the French herald,[3]

> 'I do not seek him now;
> But could be willing to march on to Calais
> Without impeachment.'

Other instances are the description of the royal captain walking from watch to watch[4]; and Westmoreland's lament,

> 'O that we now had here
> But one ten thousand of those men in England
> That do no work to-day!'

with Henry's brave reply.[5]

Tito Livio may also have furnished the tale of Henry's constancy on the field of battle[6]:—

> 'Upon his royal face there is no note
> How dread an army hath enrounded him.'

But when the matter is found in more than one source it is not possible to be certain which was used. Thus the references of the Chorus before Act V to the pageant at London after Agincourt, and to the Emperor's coming, might be derived from Tito Livio,[7] but also might come more directly from Tito Livio's own source, the English Chronicle.[8] The note of

> 'His bruised helmet and his bended sword'

must, however, be taken from the former writer.[9] The provision which Henry had made in memory of Richard II, and of his father's 'fault in compassing the crown',[10] appears below[11] in a passage added by the Translator, but its real source is *Caxton's Chronicle*.[12] So also the numbers of the slain, as

[1] *Henry V*, Act ii, sc. 2; p. 30 below.
[2] Act iii, sc. 6; p. 44 below.
[3] Act iii, sc. 6; p. 48 below.
[4] Act iv, Chorus; pp. 38, 87 below.
[5] Act iv, sc. 3; p. 54 below.
[6] Act iv, Chorus; see pp. 50, 54 below.
[7] See pp. 65, 68 below.
[8] *Brut*, pp. 380–1.
[9] See p. 65 below.
[10] Act iv, sc. 1.
[11] See p. 20.
[12] *Brut*, pp. 494–6.

given in the last scene of Act iv, appear below,[1] but these, as in Holinshed, are taken from Monstrelet.

It would be tempting to describe the History here given as 'Shakespeare's Life of Henry the Fifth'. But such a description, though true so far as literary derivation is concerned, would be misleading, since the dramatist knew and used it only through the medium of Stow and Holinshed. Still, the literary interest of the Translator's *Life* can hardly be exaggerated. It had been one object of the Translator to magnify the fame of Henry V as a model for Christian princes, and this he helped to achieve by emphasizing and popularizing the official eulogy of Tito Livio. It is a curious irony that by preserving Ormonde's stories he should have contributed still more to the creation of the contrary side of his hero's character as the wild Prince Hal.

The *First English Life of Henry V* is printed here as it stands in the Bodley MS., with some small textual corrections from the Harley MS. and from Stow. The copy in the Bodley MS. is to all appearance a faithful one; so it has seemed right to retain the old spelling, in spite of such want of fixity as is displayed in the indiscriminate use of 'there' and 'theire' for the possessive pronoun. But Manwood's scribe was somewhat irregular in his use of capital letters, and does not appear to have been governed by any rule; therefore in this respect I have not thought it necessary to follow him exactly. The division into paragraphs is that of the Bodley MS.; the arrangement of the Harley MS. is sometimes different. The marginal notes are those of the Bodley MS.; in the Harley MS. there are a few additional notes of a descriptive character. In my own footnotes I have distinguished the Bodley MS. as *B.* and the Harley MS. as *H.* I have added references to the best printed editions of the authorities cited by the Translator.

I first described this *Life* in an article on 'The Early Biographies of Henry V', which appeared in the *English Historical Review*.[2] I must here express my thanks to Mr. R. L. Poole, the editor, and to Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., the publishers, for the courtesy with which they have permitted me to make use of that article in this Introduction.

[1] See p. 62.

[2] Vol. xxv, pp. 58–92.

the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice by the Coventry legend that John Horne, the mayor in 1412, 'arrested the Prince in the Priory of Coventry.' That legend cannot, however, be carried back with any certainty to an earlier date than the reign of Elizabeth.[1] The most that can be said for it is that it shows the prevalence of a legend that Henry during his career as Prince came into conflict with the law. The story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, if it has any authenticity, might have been expected to appear in Ormonde's reminiscences. But on the other hand, Ormonde's knowledge was of the Court, and he need not have been familiar with the City legends of the boisterous life of the young princes in London.

To the same cycle of City legends the story of Falstaff should also belong; but this is certainly in its familiar dress an invention of the Elizabethan dramatists. In the *Famous Victories of Henry V*[2] Oldcastle appears as one of the Prince's boon companions. Probably also Oldcastle figured originally in Shakespeare. The Prince still addresses Falstaff as 'my old lad of the castle', and we are told that 'Oldcastle died a martyr and this is not the man'.[3] It is said that Oldcastle's name was changed in deference to the Lord Cobham of the day, and so 'the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte by abusing Sir John Falstophe'. The historical Sir John Fastolf may, through his defamation for cowardice at Patay in 1429,[4] have contributed something more than his name to the character of the theatrical Sir John Falstaff. But in real life Sir John Fastolf was a good and tried soldier, and a hard money-maker; 'cruel and vengible he hath been ever, and for the most part without pity and mercy,' wrote one of his own servants.[5] With the Falstaff of the plays neither Fastolf nor Oldcastle have anything in common, unless it be that Fastolf owned the Boar's Head in

[1] Hearne, Appendix to J. Fordun, v. 1439–74; Solly-Flood, *u. s.*, iii. 50–52. See also some correspondence in the *Athenaeum* for October, 1910.

[2] pp. 323, 325, 338, 339.

[3] *Henry IV*, pt. i, act i, sc. 2; *Henry IV*, pt. ii, act v, epilogue.

[4] There is reference to it under Fastolf's own name in *Henry VI*, pt. i, act iii, sc. 2, and act iv, sc. 1.

[5] *Paston Letters*, iii. 89.

Southwark, and that Oldcastle's house, Cobham's Inn, was not far from the Boar's Head in Eastcheap. Recently Mr. L. Vernon Harcourt has sought to find the prototype of Falstaff in an earlier Sir John Fastolf of Nacton, who, as noted above, was concerned in a gross contempt of court in 1403, when he was bound over to do no hurt to the jurors in the suit or others. It is a curious coincidence that in this suit the plaintiff was Oldcastle's father-in-law, John, Lord Cobham.[1] There is, however, no evidence to connect this earlier Sir John Fastolf with Henry of Monmouth. The greatest interest of the story is the proof which it affords that such an incident need not have been recorded on the rolls of the court; the absence of any such record in the case of the Prince was claimed by Mr. Solly-Flood [2] to be conclusive that the story of his misconduct in court and imprisonment was absolutely untrue. If the character of Fastolf does not fit in with that of Falstaff, still less does that of Oldcastle.[3] Nevertheless it is obviously impossible to dissociate Oldcastle altogether from the legend as presented by the Elizabethan dramatists. It is, moreover, an undoubted fact that Oldcastle had been a friend of Henry as Prince, and that Henry as King, after a vain attempt to convert him from his errors, utterly rejected him from his service and presence.[4] If Oldcastle was a hero and a martyr in the eyes of Elizabethan Puritans, he was nothing of the sort to the writers and politicians of his own time. It does not seem unlikely that in the later legend we have a reminiscence of contemporary scandal which attached to Henry through his youthful association with the unpopular Lollard leader. It is noteworthy that Henry's political opponents were Oldcastle's religious persecutors; and also that those writers who charge Henry with wildness as Prince find his peculiar merit as King in the maintaining of Holy Church

[1] *u. s.*, iv. 58, 59. [2] *u. s.*, iii. 146.

[3] On the whole question see further Halliwell-Phillips, *The Character of Sir John Falstaff*; Gairdner, *Studies in English History*, pp. 54–77; Duthie, *The Case of Sir John Fastolf*; Baeske, *Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare*, Palaestra, vol. l, 1905; Dr. Sidney Lee ap. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xviii. 239; L. W. Vernon Harcourt, *The Two Sir John Fastolfs*, *u. s.*

[4] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, ii. 291; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 2 (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Livius, p. 6; and p. 22 below.

and destroying of heretics. A supposed change in his attitude on questions of religion may possibly furnish a partial solution for his alleged 'change suddenly into a new man'.

Another story, which it is somewhat remarkable should not have figured in Ormonde's reminiscences, is that of the sending of the tennis-balls to Henry V by the Dauphin. There is no mention of it by Tito Livio, but the Translator has interpolated a brief reference to it from the *Policronicon*.[1] The incident is recorded by Thomas Elmham in his *Liber Metricus*,[2] which was written in 1418, by Otterbourne,[3] and by John Strecche.[4] Otterbourne and Strecche probably wrote early in the reign of Henry VI. The story appears also in a contemporary ballad attributed to Lydgate,[5] in the *Brut*,[6] and in the *Policronicon*.[7] Other fifteenth-century references are contained in Capgrave's *Life of Henry V*[8] (which, however, only follows Elmham), and in the *Croyland Chronicle*.[9] Otterbourne says that the present came in Lent, whilst Henry was at Kenilworth. Henry is known to have been at Kenilworth on Feb. 27, 1414[10]; this is a probable enough date, since the first ambassadors of France had gone home in the previous month. It is further remarkable that, apart from the ballad, the fullest form of the story is that given by Strecche, who was a canon of Kenilworth. Since Strecche's account has never been printed in England I will translate it here:—

'The French, in the blindness of harmful pride having no foresight, with words of gall answered foolishly to the ambassadors of the King of England, that because King Henry was young they would send him little balls to play with, and soft cushions to rest on, until what time he should grow to a man's strength. At which news the King was much troubled in spirit, yet with short, wise, and seemly words, he thus addressed those who stood about him: "If God so wills and my life lasts, I will within a few months play such a game of ball in the Frenchmen's streets, that they shall lose their jest and gain but grief for their game. If they sleep too long upon

[1] p. 15 below.
[2] *Memorials of Henry V*, p. 101.
[3] *Chron.*, p. 275.
[4] *Additional MS.*, 35295, f. 266.
[5] Nicolas, *London Chronicle*, pp. 216–7.
[6] p. 375.
[7] p. 225.
[8] *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p. 114.
[9] ap. Gale, *Scriptores*, i. 500.
[10] *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry V*, i. 172–3.

their cushions in their chamber, perchance before they wish it I will rouse them from their slumbers by hammering on their doors at dawn." '

Dr. Oskar Emmerig [1] has with much skill traced the origin of the tale to the mediaeval romances of Alexander the Great, in which Darius sends the Greek King scornful presents, including a hand-ball. I am not, however, able to follow Dr. Emmerig in thinking that the story must be a mere invention of the ballad-makers, and borrowed from them by the chroniclers. Elmham, Otterbourne, and Strecche were all strictly contemporary, and not over likely to have taken such a tale from the ballad; Elmham and Strecche at all events were in a position to be exceptionally well informed. It is just as natural that the idea should have been adopted from the Romance by the French Prince as by Lydgate. The Knight of the early fifteenth century modelled his conduct on the heroes of Romance. The sending of the tennis-balls, together with such incidents as Henry V's challenging the Dauphin to single combat, his fight with Barbasan, and Sir John Cornwall's wager with the Sire de Graville that he would cross the Seine in the face of the French army,[2] may all be more or less conscious imitations of incidents in Romances of Chivalry. The tennis-ball story appears too often in writers of the fifteenth century to make it probable that it should be the invention of a ballad-maker, however popular. That the story was current in various forms we learn from Strecche, who alone adds the present of a cushion. In the *Famous Victories* the Dauphin sends 'a carpet and a tunne of Tennis-balls':

> 'Meaning that you are more fit for a Tennis-court
> Then a field, and more fitter for a carpet then the camp.'

It is most unlikely that the dramatist was acquainted with Strecche's chronicle, and he probably obtained his detail from some lost ballad or legend. A fifteenth-century letter,[3]

[1] *The Bataile of Agyncourt*, Nürnberg, 1906, and 'Dariusbrief und Tennisballgeschichte' ap. *Englische Studien*, xxxix. 362–401, 1908.

[2] Monstrelet, iii. 276; Strecche ap. *Additional MS.*, 35295, f. 271, an independent version.

[3] Halliwell-Phillips, *Letters of the Kings of England*, i. 77.

supposed to have been addressed by Henry V to his cousin of France, thanks the Dauphin, with much jesting, for his gifts, and assures him that his mock shall turn to shame, 'for ye wot of right I am master of the game.' This letter may well be an invention, but whether genuine or not was clearly intended for a retort to the present of the tennis-balls.

The late but unique Lambeth MS. of the *Brut* contains two stories, to which for their novelty I must make reference. The first is of two lords of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who skirmished together till men were slain on both parties. Henry summoned them to Windsor, where they arrived as he was going to dinner. 'By the faith that I owe to God and St. George,' said the King, 'if they have not agreed and accorded by the time I have eaten my oysters, they shall both be hanged ere I have supped.' So they agreed, and came in when the King had eaten his oysters. Henry declared thereon that if they or any of his lords made any war thereafter they should die. 'So after that there durst no lord make any party or strife; and thus he began to keep his laws and justice, and therefore he was beloved and bedreaded.'[1]

The second story is of the siege of Rouen.[2] It was a custom at Rouen on St. Denis' Eve[3] to make a king in every house. When that day came the people of the suburbs within the English lines went to Henry, and sought permission in observance of their customable usage to make in every house the eldest son a king on that night. Henry granted their request, so that it were not done in his despite. In the evening by his bidding the 'kings' appeared before him. Then an old French knight, who was present, said: 'Now, I trow, is the time come that Rouen shall be won, after the prophecy.' In reply to Henry's question what the prophecy might be, the old knight continued: 'This town of Rouen shall never be won till there come a king, born of a woman and in a nun's habit, with thirty kings in his retinue to lay siege thereto.' So Henry, to fulfil the prophecy,

[1] *Brut*, p. 595.

[2] *id.*, p. 598.

[3] The date is impossible, whether it means the feast of St. Denys the Archbishop of Paris on Oct. 9, or of St. Denys the Pope on Dec. 26. Rouen surrendered on St. Wolstan's Day, Jan. 19; the besieged had asked for terms on New Year's Eve.

commanded every one of the 'kings' to be set in divers garrisons against the town. And the next day was Rouen yielded to the King.

Of these two stories the first is given as an epilogue to that account of Henry's riotous life as Prince and conversion when he became King, which I have noted above as illustrative of one of Ormonde's stories.[1] The second would of course have been within Ormonde's knowledge of events at Rouen. It is tempting to conjecture that we may in these stories have some further survivals of the Earl's reminiscences.

As a final subject I propose to consider what influence the work of the Translator has had in the framing of our English histories and opinions of Henry V. The traditional view of Henry as the hero-king must no doubt be traced back for its literary origin to the official biography compiled by Tito Livio. Though Tito Livio's *Life* remained in manuscript till 1716, it had through the writings of Stow and Holinshed given colour to all subsequent opinion, and not least it had supplied much of the ultimate basis for the historical, as distinct from the legendary, account embodied in the plays of Shakespeare. Hall had not been acquainted with Tito Livio at all; but though in many things Holinshed was content to reproduce his predecessor of forty years before, he had for the main framework of his history of Henry V gone direct to the original *Life* by Tito Livio. Yet Holinshed acknowledged that he had made additions from the work of the English Translator, with which he was acquainted through a copy in the possession of John Stow. Though Holinshed cites the Translator only for the reference to Alain Blanchard and for the story of Barbasan, he had likewise taken from it direct the account of the reception of Sigismund, and through the medium of Stow's *Summary* an abbreviated version of the stories of Henry's riotous youth, of his disguising, and of his dismissal of his unworthy companions. Stow on his part quotes the Translator by name only for the disguising; but he also quotes him verbatim, though without acknowledgement, for the death-bed speeches of Henry IV, and the

[1] See p. xxxi above.

dismissal of the unworthy companions. But Stow's debt went far beyond the faithful repetition of the Ormonde stories. As the footnotes to the text here given show, Stow, when professing to quote Livius or Monstrelet, was commonly content to reproduce the precise words of the Translator, even where that writer had varied or added to the sense of his original. It is true that in a few places there are indications that Stow may also have used Livius in the Latin. But in the main his narrative for the reign of Henry V is that of the Translator. This circumstance has led some recent historians to quote Stow's *Annales* as an independent authority, which, as it seemed, did not merely copy the Latin of Tito Livio. In his own time Stow was overshadowed by Holinshed. His *Annales* did not appear in their extended form till 1592, and his *Summary* and *Chronicles of England* (printed in 1580) were comparatively slight in form, and could not compete in authority with the more ambitious work of his rival. So it was to Holinshed that the author of *The Famous Victories of Henry V* and Shakespeare were indebted primarily for most of their information. But Holinshed is only the link through which we must go back through Stow to the Translator and to Tito Livio. If Holinshed was well acquainted with the Latin original of Tito Livio; yet he must have derived some colouring of opinion as well as added material from the Translator. It is perhaps a curious illustration of the literary convention of the age that those passages of our *Life*, which are given both by Stow and by Holinshed, are quoted by Holinshed as from Stow; and that those passages, which Holinshed quoted independently, were not afterwards made use of by Stow in the enlarged version of his *Annales*. Before Stow and Holinshed, Nicholas Harpsfield had quoted the Translator's *Life*; but his *Historia Anglicana* is slight in itself and was little, if at all, known to other writers of the reign of Elizabeth. Somewhat later John Speed, whose *History of Great Britaine* first appeared in 1611, quotes the Translator of Livius both for the story of the Prince robbing his own receivers, and for the story of Henry's disguising.[1] He also gives the dying advice of Henry IV to

[1] pp. 765, 766; ed. 1632.

his son, which he combines with the story of the taking away of the crown, from the 'vulgar chronicles', and the story of Barbasan.[1] It does not, however, appear that Speed had any knowledge of the Translator's *Life* independently of what he found in the chronicles of Stow and Holinshed.

The use which the Elizabethan historians themselves made of the Translator is of less interest than the material which they supplied from this source to Shakespeare and his predecessors. *The Famous Victories of Henry V* was first produced before September 3, 1588, though not licensed till 1594, nor printed till 1598.[2] So it was written soon after the appearance of the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in January, 1586–7, and a good many years later than Stow's *Summary* and *Chronicles*. The play opens with a scene between the Prince and his worthless companions, Ned and Tom. 'Think you not that it was a villainous part of me to rob my father's receivers,' asks Henry, thus establishing a perversion of Ormonde's story which has been somewhat persistent. Presently the Receivers come in and get rated by the Prince, who boasts that he had 'feared them with words'. Then follows a scene in which several citizens discuss the Prince:—

'I dare not call him thief, but sure he is one of these taking fellows . . .'
'I hear say, if he use it long,
His father will cut him off from the crown.'

Whilst they talk appears a boy with news from the Counter. 'About two hours ago, there came the young Prince and three or four more of his companions, and called for wine good store, and then they sent for a noise of musicians and were very merry.' Soon they went into the street and fell to fighting, so that none could part them, until the Mayor and Sheriffs were sent for, and with much ado the young Prince was carried to the Counter. The scene shifts, and the Mayor and Sheriffs are brought before the King; to whom they defend themselves, because the Prince with a very disordered company having come to the old tavern in Eastcheap had

[1] pp. 762–3, 801.
[2] Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, ii. 258.
[3] See Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, pt. ii, vol. i, pp. 323–77.

THE FIRST ENGLISH LIFE

OF

HENRY V

WRITTEN IN 1513 BY AN ANONYMOUS AUTHOR KNOWN COMMONLY AS

THE TRANSLATOR OF LIVIUS

[PROHEM]

WHEN I throughlie had pervsed, perceauinge that it serued well to my purpose afore rehearsed,[1] I payned my self to reduce it into our naturall English tongue. And for because the matter should be more fruitefull, open and pleasant to the readers and hearers hereof, I haue anexed to the same diuers Authorities of Enguerant demonstrellet in such things as meseemed apt for my matter, who, among all other French histories and chronicles that I haue seene, indited most at large of the warres betweene England and Fraunce for those dayes; w^ch^ two bookes, the one of Titus Liuius out of facound Latine, and th' other of the saide Enguerrant out of the common Language of Fraunce I haue translated and reduced into rude and holme English, from whome all pratique and famous inditinge is farr exiled. And to these two aforesaide books I haue also added diuers sayings of the English Cronicles, and to the same matter also diuers other opinions that I have reade of the report of a certaine and honourable auncient person, to whome as me seemeth for the grauitie and experience credit is to be giuen. And that is the honnorable Erle of Ormond. I have contexed and adioyned to the authorities afore rehearsed in places for the same most apt and convenient, as by the booke followinge shall be evident to all them that shall please to reade the same, wherein they shall finde intiteled in the margent of the same of what authoritie everie sentence is taken. And for asmuch as I have not enterprised the compilacion of this present volume vppon noe presumpcion of witt, sentence, or cunninge of my self, whereof I knowe me vtterlie destitute and voide, nor for no reproof of vice nor defaulte of vertue in the person of our before remembred Soueraigne Lorde, whome I see evidentlie to be excellentlie replenished

Titus Liuius.

[1] *It is clear that something is missing, which had gone before.*

of all naturall vertues, as much, as I beleeue, as he of whome I intende to write, or more; but to this ende I haue bin mooued to the enterprise hereof, that his Grace, hearinge or seeinge, or readinge the vertuous manners, the victorious conquests, and the excellent sages and wisdomes of the most renowned Prince in his daies, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, his noble progenitor (of whose superior in all noblenes, manhoode, and vertue, to my pretence, it is not read nor heard amongest the princes of England since William of Normandie obtayned the government of this realme by conquest) his Grace maie in all thinges concerninge his person and the reigement of his people, conforme himselfe to his life and manners, w^ch^ he vsed after his coronacion, and be councelled by the example of his greate wisdome and discretion in all his common and perticuler Acts. And secondarily the principall cause of this my paine (for as much as we then laboured in warr)[1] was that our Soueraigne Lorde by the knowledge and sight of this pamphile shoulde partlie be prouoked in his saide warr to ensue the noble and chivalrous acts of this so noble, so vertuous, and so excellent a Prince, w^ch^ so followed, he might the rather attaine to like honnour, fame, and victorie. But, praised be God, it is nowe much better for vs, for that mortall warr, and hatefull discention is nowe chainged into an amiable, toworde, and peace honnorable and also proffitable (as wee beleeue both to the Kings Highnes and to this Realme). Therefore considered that my first motion to this enterprise hath only sounded to the true and faithfull leigiance that I (as his naturall subiect) owe to beare to our Soueraigne Lorde, whome aboue all things I desire to be vertuous and victorious: instantlie and in the forme of humillitie I beseech his grace and all other, as well men of honnour as of the Commonaltie, benignely to accept this rude and simple, not rude but excellent of itselfe, howbeit in the compilacion it is but homelie and not much pleasaunt: and where any default is, thorough my negligence and smale discretion, w^th^ charitie (so it be w^th^ authoritie) to reforme the same. And as to your Grace, my most dreade Soueraigne Lord, those vertues that by this pamphile ye shall perceaue to be vsed in his time of that most puissant prince, Kinge Henrie

Henrie the Fifte.

[1] *See* Introduction, p. x.

the fifte, your Auncestor, and namelie three w^ch I note especially w^th colour most necessarie to euerie prince to insue; whereof the first is Justice, whereby he shall best entertayne the vnitie and wealth of his people: the seconde Continence, w^ch of all men is to be obserued, and namelie of them that be professors to the Sacrament of Matrymonie, w^ch vertue, as I haue hearde of credible report, this noble prince, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, obserued so constantly that from the death of the Kinge his Father vntill the marriage of himself he neuer had knowledge carnally of weomen[1]: And the Thirde excellent virtue that I note is Humilitie, and to eschewe vaine glorie, least a man ascribe laude to himselfe of that thinge w^ch is geuen to him of God, whereby he might lightlie prouoke against himself th'indignacion of God, by meanes whereof his prosperitie and honnor may be chainged into aduersitie and dishonnor: he giue to your Grace to vse and ensue, and constantlie to occupie to the pleasure of him, to the health of your Soule, and to the honnour and prosperitie of your Royall person, Realme, and Commons, of whome ye haue receaued so manie and so greate supereminent vertues and graces. Amen.

Justice. Continence. Humilitie.

[1] Harpsfield, *Historia Anglicana*, p. 589: In his et magno multarum aliarum virtutum concursu valde in eo accurata quedam iustitiae ad totius reipublicae singulare commodum, et pudicitiae quam tam exquisite tenuit ut a patris obitu ante matrimonium initum ab omni se femina, et post matrimonium etiam preterquam uxoris, et consuetudine abstinuit, obseruatio enituit.

THE PROLOGUE OF TITUS LIUIUS DIRECTING HIS WORDS TO KINGE HENRIE THE SIXT

When I remember me to haue often hard in my youth of report of my Father, and of others like vnto him, Thy Father not meanelie but greatlie to exceede all the Kings that haue bin in our daies in his famous acts, whose victorious gifts I haue deliuered to write after the knowledge that I haue of them.

WHEN with the laboure and studie of many monethes and yeares I began to profit in that science wherevnto I applied my studie, hearing that nature had finished her course in thy father, I was then more desirous to knowe who remayned in thie house that were the most ensewers and followers of thy fathers studies and labours. I hard thee, skarse of two yeares, to be left Successor and heire of so greate a Kinge, and to be committed to the gouernaunce and tuition of the most noble and famous Prince, Humphrie, the Duke of Gloucester, thine vncle, who was to thie father the youngest brother amongest foure, and most was fauoured and beloued of him, and also expert and indoctryned in his studies and disciplines.[1] He was the Councellor, the helper and follower of all acts of thie father the Kinge, and after his departure from this present life he nourished thee tenderly and faithfullie, so that he might be named the other Lycurg, brother to Polibites, Kinge of Lacydemonie, in the faithfull and stedfast nourishinge of the Kinge his nephewe. This Duke Humphrie exceeded all princes that then liued in the studie of Letteres as well in diuine as in humane sciences, whose glorious fame, and the

[1] frater e quattuor natu minor, filius pietate et nomine a rege dictus, suis disciplinis eruditus *Livius*.

desire I had to laboure, and to see so strainge Realmes, and also the default I had of money, mooued me to come into this realme vnto thie saide vnkle, wch founde me and gaue me sufficient wherewth to continewe in honest life, wth whome I haue wth good will occupied the effect and fruite of all my studies in writinge of those thinges, wch I beleeued to reason to the honnor of thee and thie Realme. And before I intended to returne into my natiue countrie, at the instance and supplicacions of my self, thie saide famous vnkel agregat in as much as might be gotten the Acts of thie father, and the same he sent to me to reduige into writinge. The charge whereof I enterprised wth greate studie and laboure, and good will and hartie pleasure, what for because this Godly Kinge, thy father, was occasion of my comminge into this thie country. And what for that in thie saide countrie (thoughe I were but as a strainger) at th'instance of this Duke, thie Vnckle, thou hast geuen me much guerdion, whereby I am well bounden to take paine in those things that maie concerne thine Honnor.[1] And therefore I ame also bounde to giue thee thanks for thie greate magnificence and liberalitie. I haue therefore written the life and shyninge Acts of this most victorious Kinge, thie father, to thee, the most Christian Kinge, his sonn, of whose manners and condicions the most parte of all Christian nations trust to be th'ensuer and follower. Not that I preferr and laude warr and discention, rather then tranquillitie and peace; but if thou maiest haue none honest peace, that then thou shalt seeke peace and rest wth victorie to both thie realmes by thy vertue and battaile, and by those feates by wch thie Father attamed both his aduersaries and thine. And euer in all works intend thou to ensue the vertuous manners of that Godly Kinge, thie Father.[2]

TITUS LIUIUS.

[1] cum quod is divinus rex multarum vigiliarum et lucubrationum animo michi causa in percipiendis literis fuerat, tum quod et indiginatu Angliae regni ducis hujus patrui tui rogatu suasuque me donaveras *Livius*. *The Translator was puzzled by* indiginatu, *which refers to Livius' denization in England in March* 1437.

[2] iis artibus, quibus suos et tuos hostes pater domuit, eisdem virtuteque belli cum victoria simili regnis tuis pacem et quietem quaerens, divinum tibi regem cunctis in rebus imitandum proponas *Livius*. *B. has the erroneous reading* attayned *for* attamed.

THE Welshmen, in asperance by reason of theire prophesies that amongest them shoulde be borne a Prince that shoulde gouerne the vniuersall realme of Englande, whose prophesie was accomplished in this most victorious Prince, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, borne at Monnmouth in Wales amongest them.[1] This Prince in the exile and time of his father, the Duke of Harford,[2] was norished in the Kings Courte right honnorably in all things that was convenient for his estate by Kinge Richard the Seconde, that time Kinge of Englande. This Prince Henry in the vertuous passinge of his noble youth obtayned the fauour and loue of the Kinge, of all the Princes, and also of all other men of euerie degree, of whome he had acquaintance. Of this Prince the Kinge right often in open audience of the Court vsed to saie these words: 'Of the 'greatest of my house shalbe borne a childe, whose name 'shalbe Henrie,[3] w^ch^ for his knightlie acts and resplendishinge 'vertues shalbe renowned throughe out the worlde.' And of whome he thus prophesied he verelie trusted to be the same Henrie. After this, when the Irishmen rebelled against the Kinge, this young Henrie went in this journey w^th^ the Kinge against them, both to learne and exercise the feates of armes. Whose father when he was retourned from his exile, after the death of King Richarde (as was his right) was preferred to the crowne of the Realme. And when he after went w^th^ armed power to oppresse the Scotts, w^ch^ rebelled against him, he left the greate substance of his riches and goods in the garde and tuition of this younge Prince, his sonn,[4] whose vertues weare

[1] Quod impletum est per Henricum quintum natum hic *Livius*.
[2] Hereford.
[3] se fando semper a majoribus audivisse, de sua familia nasciturum Henricum quendam *Livius*.
[4] hunc maximae parti suarum copiarum Henricum filium praefecit *Livius*.

maruelouslie excellent and greate. After this was a greate insurreccion in the North parts of England made against the Kinge; for the reformacion whereof, and to subdue those conspiracies vnto his obeysance the Kinge in his person, and this[1] younge Henrie the Prince, w^th^ a right greate power of armed men went against them to Shrewsburie, where they encountered and mett w^th^ a right great armed power of those seditious people, against whome both the Kinge, the father, and the Prince had a right cruell and longe battaile; wherein the courage and strenght of the younge Prince Henrie appeared maruelouslie excellent; for in the same battaile, as he with a feruent mynde fought (peraduenture vnwarelie) amongest the rebbelles, he was wounded in the face w^th^ an arrowe, so sore that they that were there present w^th^ him were in dispaire of his life, wherefore they pained them to with drawe him from the battaile. But that noble Prince perceauinge theire intent gaue to them this aunswere: 'With what stomacke,' saide he, 'shall 'our people fight, when they see me theire Prince and the 'Kings sonn withdrawe my selfe, and recoile for feare. Bringe 'me therefore wounded as I ame amongest the first and the 'formost of our partie, that not only by words but also by 'deeds I may enforce the courage of our men, as it becommeth 'a Prince for to doe.' That when he was thus brought into the fronte of the battaile, he made vppon his enemies a greater assaulte than before. They fought longe on both parts w^th^ greate occision of men and w^th^ the effusion of much blood. But at last our lord Soueraigne had[2] the right, Sir Henrie Percy, the Earle of Northumberlandes sonn, was slayne, S^r^ Thomas Percie, his vnkle, Earle of Worcester, was taken prisoner, w^ch^ twoo lords were the principall Captaines of those rebellions; after whose death and discomphiture theire conflicts discouraged and in despaire of victorie left the fielde and fledd. And so the victorie of the fielde remained w^th^ honnour to the Kinge and his Sonn. Manie Welshmen, and in a manner the greater parte of all Wales, were confederate w^th^ these rebbells, and were present at the insurrection. And for because they percevered in theire obstinacie the Kinge deliuered the Prince, his Sonn, a greate armed bande, and sent him into Wales to

[1] his *B.* [2] had *om. B.*

subdue those falsh Welsh rebellions, who, at his comminge into Wales, destroyed theire lande w^th^ sworde and fyre. And after longe and manie cruelties by them done for theire defence, the Prince slewe part of them by battaile, and part he took and punished them after there deserts. And part he droue into stronge holds and Castles, whome finallie at all times he subdued to his fathers dominion. How so be a greate part of them, seeinge their confederats thus vanquished, and themselues thus oppressed by the Prince, fledd for refuge into a greate and stronge Castle in Wales called Amberrstmuch,[1] wherevnto the Prince layed his siege, and assaulted it by mynes and all manner of engins that were thought needfull for the distruccion of them and of there Castle; he made manie vigorous assaults and skirmishes for the oppression of them. And on his partie the Siege was not w^th^out the paine and disease of the Prince and his companie, in so much the more noyous vnto them that were lodged w^th^in the Castell, not in plaine fields but in roughe and thicke woods, for w^th^ such manner woods and Castells it was environed.[2] And also it was that time winter, w^ch^ was cause to them of incredible colde and paine. Neuertheles this most virtuous Prince, not wearied w^th^ paine, after he had longe assieged this castell to the Kings greate cost and expences, and not w^th^out the effusion of much bloud, obtayned the Castell, and subdued the residue of Wales vnder the Kings obeysance, except on person, whose name was Owann, w^ch^ was principall Chieftaine of the Welsh rebellions. This Owann, for feare and in dispaire to obtaine the Kinges pardon, fledd into desart places w^th^out companie; where in caues he continewed and finished his misserable life. Neuertheles his sonn afterward was taken into seruis w^th^ the Prince. And this sufficeth of the Welsh conspiracies and battailes, w^ch^ this victorious Prince right valliantlie vanquished, and reduced the people to the Kinge his fathers obeysaunce.[3] In this time Iohn the Duke of Burgonie, w^ch^ was oppressed by battaile of the Duke of Orleance, by constraint came into

[1] Aberystwith; Aperhustumth *Livius*.
[2] *This obscure sentence is an addition of the Translator.*
[3] *For the latter half of this sentence Livius*, p. 4, *has* quorum ad certam quoque singulorum notitiam non devenerunt.

England to demaund fauour[1] and aide of the Prince (who after he had obtayned lycence of his father the Kinge) sent into Fraunce the Earle of Arrundell, the Earle of Kyme, and the Lord Cobham, w^th^ manie other Knights and Esquires in the aide of the Duke of Burgonie.[2]

Which at Cloe[3] besides Paris encountered theire enemies, vppon whome they had a gracious victorie, wherefore they were courteouslie rewarded of the Duke of Burgonie, and then retourned into England. For these and manie other valiauntises, noble feates, and victories, w^ch^ God of his infinit goodnes daily gaue vnto him, the Prince was honnored and renound not onlie in his Realme, but also in other Realmes and quarters. He was also taken of the Kinge his father as the first and principall of his Cuntrie Councell, and as nature appeareth he was right deere and welbeloued of the Kinge, vntill such time as his fame appeared by the sinister report of some euell disposed people[4], w^ch^ laboured to make discension betweene the Kinge and the prince his sonn[5]; by reason whereof, and by th'actes of youth, w^ch^ he excersised more then meanely, and for the greate recourse of people vnto him, of whom his courte was at all times more aboundant then the Kinge[6] his father's, the Kinge suspected that he woulde vsurpe[7] the Crowne he beinge aliue, which suspicious Jealosie was occasion that he in parte w^th^drewe his affeccion and singuler loue from the Prince. But when this noble Prince was aduertised of his father's iealosie and mistrust by some his secret friends of the Kings Councell, he disguised himselfe in a gowne of blewe satten or damaske made full of iletts or holes, and at euerie ilet the needle wherew^th^ it was made hanginge there by the thridde of silke, and about his arme he wore a doggs Collor sett full

[1] coactus in Angliam sit auxilium petere *Livius.*

[2] *The names are added by the Translator, from the* Brut, p. 371; *Livius has simply* de suis nonnullos.

[3] St. Cloud.

[4] Stow, *Annales*, p. 339, ed. 1631: To the same effect (but in more ample manner) writeth the translator of Titus Liuius (who wrote an history of Henry the fift, and dedicated it to Henry the sixt) as he was informed by the Earle of Ormond, an eye witnesse of the same, as followeth: During the sicknesse of the king (saith he) some euill disposed people.

[5] *The Translator now leaves Livius.*

[6] the kinge *om. Stow.*

[7] would presume to vsurpe *Stow.*

of S. S.[1] of goulde and the teretts of the same also of fine golde. And thus apparrelled [2] w^th^ greate Companie of Lords [3] he came to the Kinge his father, who at that time lay at Westminster; where at his comminge by his owne commaundement [4] not one of his companie durst aduance [5] himselfe further then the fire in the hall, notw^th^standinge they were greatlie and ofte desired to the contrarie by the Lords and greate estats of the Kings Courte. And that the Prince had commaunded [6] to giue the lesse occasion of mistrust to the Kinge his father; but he himselfe accompanied of the Kings house only passed forth to the Kinge his father, to whome after due salutacions he desired to show the intent of his minde in secrett manner. Then the Kinge caused himselfe to be borne in his chaire, (because he was diseased and might not goe) into his secrett chamber; where in the presence of three or foure persons in whome the Kinge had his most confidence he commaunded the Prince to shewe the effect of his minde. Then the Prince kneelinge downe before his father saide to him these words: 'Most redoubted Lorde and father I ame this 'time come to your presence as your Liegeman, and as your 'sonn naturall, in all things to obey your Grace as my 'Soueraigne Lorde and father. And whereas I vnderstande 'that you haue me in suspecte of my behauour against your 'Grace, and that you feare I would vsurpe your Crowne against 'the pleasure of your highnes. Of my conuersacion your 'Grace knoweth that if you weare in feare of any man w^th^in 'your Realme of what estate soeuer he were, my duty were to 'the endainger of my life to punish that person, thereby to 'araise [7] that sore from your harte. And then howe much 'rather ought I to suffer death to bringe y^or^ grace, that hath 'bene and yet be the most hardie and renowned Kinge of the 'worlde,[8] from that feare that ye haue of me, that ame your 'naturall sonn and liegeman. And to that intent I haue

[1] *Blank in B.*; S. S. esses, *H.; supplied from Stow.*
[2] Thus strangely apparelled *Stow.*
[3] Lords and other noble men of his Court *Stow.*
[4] by commaundement of him *Stow.* [5] Companie aduanced *Stow.*
[6] And this they did not onely because the weather was colde, but because the Prince had so commaunded them *Stow.*
[7] arise, *B.*; race *Stow.* [8] that hath . . . worlde *om. Stow.*

'this day by confession [1] and by receauinge my maker [2] pre-
'pared myselfe. And therefore most redoubted Lorde and
'father I desyre [3] you in your honnor of God, for the easinge
'of your harte heere tofore your knees to slaye me w^th^ this
'dagger': (and at that worde w^th^ all reuerence he deliuered
to the Kinge his dagger, sayinge) 'my Lord and father, my
'life is not so desirous to me that I woulde liue one daye that
'I shoulde be to your displeasure, nor I couet not so much my
'life, as I doe your pleasure and wellfare. And in your
'thus doinge here in the presence of those lords, and before
'God, and [4] the daye of Judgement, I cleerelie forgiue you
'my death.' At these words of the Prince, and [5] the Kinge
taken w^th^ compassion of harte caste from him the dagger,
and imbraced the Prince, and kissed him, and w^th^ effusion of
teares saide vnto him: 'My right deere and hartelie beloued
'Sonn, it is of troth that I partlie had you in suspect,[6] and as
'I now perceaue vndeserued on your part, but seeinge this
'your humilitie and faithfullness, I shall neither slay you nor
'frome hencefoorth anie more haue you in mistrust, for no
'reporte that shalbe made vnto me. And therefore [7] I assure
'you vppon myne honnour.' And thus by his greate wisdome
was the wrongfull imaginacion of his fathers hart [8] utterlie
avoyded, and himselfe restored to the Kings former grace and
fauour. I remember also to haue heard of the credible report
of my saide Lorde and M^r^ the Earle of Ormond, that this
Prince had of his father the Kinge [9] diuers notable doctrins
and insignements, that not onlie of him but of euerie Prince are
to be holden and followed for the prosperitie of himselfe, and
of his realme and country; w^ch^ though they be knowne to
euerie Prince that hath gouernance of lands, yet I trust the
hearinge and readinge of part of them shall not be tedious to
anie person that hath such manner charge, but rather proffit-
able, and renewe the remembrance of them,[10] Among w^ch^
erudicions one is this: The Kinge, lyinge greuiously diseased,

[1] confession of my sinnes, *Stow.* [2] the Sacrament, *Stow.*
[3] beseech *Stow.* [4] at *Stow.* [5] and *om. Stow.*
[6] I had you partly suspect *Stow.* [7] thereof *Stow.* [8] hate *Stow.*
[9] In the time of whose languishing the king gave to the Prince his Sonne *Stow, omitting the reference to Ormond.*
[10] for the prosperitie . . . of them *om. Stow.*

called before him the Prince his sonn, and saide vnto him: 'My Sonn, I feare me sore after my departure from this life, 'some discorde shall sourd[1] and arise betwixt thee and 'Thomas, thie Brother,[2] the Duke of Clarence, whereby the 'realme may be brought to distruction and misserie, for I 'knowe you both to be of so greate stomake and courage; 'wherefore I feare that he thoroughe his high mynde will 'make some enterprise against thee intendinge to vsurpe 'vppon the, w^ch I knowe thie stomake may not abide easelye. 'And for dread hereof, as oft as it is in my remembraunce, I 'sore repent me that euer I charged myselfe w^th the Crowne 'of this Realme.' To these words of the Kinge the Prince aunswered thus: 'Right redoubted[3] Lord and father, to the 'pleasure of God your Grace shall longe continewe w^th vs and 'rule vs both. But if God haue so prouided that euer I shall 'succeed you in this realme, I shall honnor and loue my 'Brothers aboue all men, as longe as they be to me true, 'faithfull and obedient as to theire Soueraigne Lorde. But if 'anie of them fortune to conspire or rebell against me, I assure 'you I shall as soone execute Justice vppon anie one of them 'as I shall vppon the worst and most simplest person w^thin this your Realme.' The Kinge hearinge this aunswere, was therew^th maruelouslie reioyced in his mynde.[4] 'My deare and 'welbeloued Sonn, w^th this aunswere thou hast deliuered me 'of a greate and ponderous agony. And I beseech thee, and 'vppon my blessinge charge thee, that like as thou hast saide, 'so thou minister Justice equallie, and in no wise suffer them 'not to be oppressed longe, that call[5] vppon thee for Justice, 'but redresse oppressions and indifferently and without delay, 'for no persuasions of flatteries,[6] or of them that be partiall, 'or such as vse to haue theire hands replenished w^th giftes; 'defer not Justice vntill to morrowe, if that thou maiest doe 'Justice to daie, least peraduenture God doe Justice on thee 'in the meane time, and take from thee thine authoritie. Re-'member[7] the wealth of thie bodie and soule, and thy realme 'resteth in th'execucion of Justice, and doe not thie Justice so

[1] grow *Stow*. [2] my brother Thomas *Stow*.
[3] undoubted *Stow*. [4] minde, and sayd *Stow*.
[5] suffer not them that bee oppressed long to call *Stow*.
[6] flatterers *Stow*. [7] Remember that *Stow*.

'that thou be called a Tyrant, but vse thie selfe meanelie be-
'twixt Justice and mercie in those thinges that belonge vnto
'thee. And betwixt parties doe Justice dewlie [1] and extreame-
'lie, to the consolacion of thie poore subiects that suffereth
'iniurie, and to the punition of them that be extortioners and
'doers of oppression, that others thereby maie take example.
'And in thus doeinge thou shalte obtaine the fauour of God,
'and the loue and feare of thie Subiects, and therefore also
'shalt thou haue this realme [2] in tranquillitie and rest, w^ch
'shalbe occasion of greate prosperitie w^thin this Realme, w^ch
'Englishmen naturallie desire; for so longe as they haue
'welth and riches, so longe shalt thou haue obeysance, and
'when they be poore then they be readie [3] at everie motion
'to make insurrections, and to rebell [4] against theire Soueraigne
'Lorde, for the nature of them is [5] rather to feare the loosinge
'of theire goods and worldly substaunce, then the jeopardinge
'of theire liues. And if thou keepe them thus in subiection
'mixed w^th loue and feare, thou shalt haue the most peaceable
'and firtile countrie, and the most louinge, faithfull, and manly
'people of the worlde, w^ch shalbe cause of no smale feare of
'thine aduersaries. My Sonn, when it shall please God to
'call me to the way decreed to everie worldlie creture, to thee
'(as to my Sonn and heire) I must leaue my Crowne and my
'Realme, w^ch I aduise thee not to take vainely, and as a man
'elate in pride, and reioyced in worldlie honnour. But thinke
'that thou art more oppressed w^th charge to purvey for euerie
'person w^thin thie realme, than exalted in vaine honnor of the
'worlde. Thou shalt be exalted to the Crowne of [6] the wealth
'and conuersacion of thie realme, and not for thie singuler
'commoditie and auaile. My Sonn, thou shalt be minister to
'thie realme to keepe it in tranquillitie, and defende it; like as
'the harte in the middest of the bodie is principall and chiefe
'thinge in the bodie, and serueth to couet and desire that
'thinge that is most necessary to euerie of thie members, so
'(My Sonn) thou shalt be amongest thie people, as chiefe and
'principall of them to minister, imagine and acquire those
'things that may be most benificiall for them; and then thie

[1] truly *Stow.* [2] thy Realme move *Stow.* [3] alwayes readie *Stow.*
[4] and it causeth them to rebell *Stow.* [5] is such *Stow.* [6] for *Stow.*

'people shalbe obedient to thee, to aide and succour thee, 'and in all things to accomplish thie commaundements; like 'as thie members labour everie of them in theire office to 'acquire and gett that thinge that the hart desireth, and as 'thie hart is of no force and impotent w^th^out the aide of thie 'members, so w^th^out thie people thie Raigne is nothinge. My 'Sonn, thou shalt feare and dreade God aboue all things, and 'thou shalt loue, honnor and worshipp him w^th^ all thie hart. 'Thou shalt attribute and ascribe to him all things wherein 'thou seest thie selfe to be well fortunat, be it victorie of 'thine enemies, loue of thie friends, obedience of thie subiects, 'strenght and actiuenes of thie bodie, honnor, riches, or fruitfull 'generacions, or any other thinge what soeuer it be that chaunc- 'eth to thie pleasure. Thou shalt not imagine that any such 'thinge may [1] fortune to thee by thine act, nor by thie desire,[2] 'but thou shalt thinke that it [3] cometh onely of the goodnes of 'our [4] Lord. Thus thou shalt w^th^ all thine harte praise, honnor, 'and thanke God of all his benifitts that he giueth vnto thee. 'And in thie selfe to eschewe all vaine glorie and elation of 'hart, followinge the wholesome councell of the psalmist, w^ch^ 'saith *Non nobis, domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, 'w^ch^ is this to saie: Not to vs Lord, not to vs, but to thie 'holie name be giuen laud, joy, and praysinge.' [5] These and manie other goodlie notable demonstraunces, admonishments,[6] and doctrins, this victorius Kinge shewed vnto this noble Prince and [7] sonn, who w^th^ effect ensewed and [8] followed them after the death of his Father, whereby he obtayned grace of our Lorde to obtaine [9] to greate victories, and to manie glorious and incredible conquests through the helpe and succoure of our Lord, whereof he was never destitute. And this sufficeth as to that purpose.[10]

Titus Liuius.

Then to turne to our former purpose and matter. This Prince Henrie exceaded the meane stature of men; he was beawtious of visage, his necke was longe, his body slender and leane, his boanes smale. Neuerthelesse he was of maruelous

[1] should *Stow.* [2] desert *Stow.* [3] all *Stow.* [4] the *Stow.*
[5] laud and praise *Stow.* [6] many other admonishments *Stow.*
[7] his *Stow.* [8] ensewed and *om. Stow.* [9] attaine *Stow.*
[10] And . . . purpose *om. Stow.*

greate strenght: he was passinge swift in runninge, in so much that he with two other of his Lords by force of runninge, w^th^out any manner of hounds or grayhounds, or without bowe or other engine, woulde take a wilde bucke or doe at large in a parke.[1] He delighted in songe and musicall Instruments, he exercised meanelie the feates of Venus and of Mars, and other pastimes of youth, for so longe as the Kinge his father liued; by whose life (as I haue learned of the credence before rehearsed, and also as the common fame is)[2] accompanied w^th^ some of his younge Lords and gentlemen would awaite in disguised aray for his owne receauers, and distres them of theire money. And some time at such enterprises both he and his Companie weare surelie beaten; and when his receauers made to him theire complaints, howe they were distressed and robbed in theire comminge vnto him, he woulde giue them discharges of so much money as they had lost, and besides that they shoulde not depart from him w^th^out greate rewards for theire trouble and vexacions. And he that best and most manly had resisted him and his companie in their enterprise, and of whome he had receaued the greatest and most stroakes, shoulde be sure to receaue of him the greatest and most bounteous rewards.[3]

Translator.

His father drawinge to his ende (and in whome nature had accomplished her course) after the masse by him devoutlie harde, and after due thanks and supplicacion geuen to God, gaue his benediccion to the Prince his Sonn, and so he yealded to God his spirite. After whose death the Prince, as he that shoulde succeed his father in his raigne, called to him a vertuous Monke of holie conuersacion, to whome he confessed himselfe of all his offences, trespasses and insolencies of times past. And in all things at that time he reformed and amended his life and his manners. So after the decease of his father was neuer no youth nor wildnes, that might haue anie place in him, but all his acts were sodenlie changed into grauitie and discretion.[4]

Titus Liuius.

[1] *Liuius*, p. 4; *adopted by Stow, Annales*, p. 342.

[2] *Stow begins*: He lived somewhat insolently, insomuch that whilest his father lived, being. *So he omits the reference to Ormonde.*

[3] especially they should bee rewarded that best had resisted him and his company, and of whom he had receiued the greatest and most strokes. *Stow.*

[4] *Liuius*, p. 5; *adopted by Stow.*

Trans-lator. And in that he had grace of our Lord to accomplish in him that thinge that is written of Th'arch Bisshopp of Canterbury of whome it is saide *Subito mutatus est in virum alium*, w^ch^ is to saye he was sodenlie changed into a newe man.

Titus Liuius. To this noble Prince (by th'assent of the Parliament) all the estats, and gentlemen of the Realme after three daies offered to do[1] fealtie before he was crowned, or had solemnized his oath well and justlie to gouerne the Common wealth, which offer[2] before was neuer founde to bee made to no Prince of England before his Coronacion. The Prince gaue them all generallie thankes for all there good minds, and therew^th^ he exhorted them to the zeale of the publickque prosperitie, and honnour of the Realme. And if anie man had offended him, he pardoned his trespasses; he desired hartely of God by meeke supplicacion that if he shoulde rule and doe all things well to the honnor of God, and the prosperitie and inhaunsment[3] of the Realme, that then God shoulde suffer him to be crowned; and if his fortune shoulde be to doe otherwise, that then God shoulde take him to his mercie, and suffer him rather to be buried, then to enterprise the charge of the Realme.[4]

Trans-lator. Oh howe great was the constant loue of the publique weale in this Prince that desired rather to dye then to be vnproffitable to the realme. Certainely this is a speciall note to be remembred of all Princes, and especiallie of them that court more theire singuler pleasure, honnor, and proffitt then the vniuersall aduantage and wealth of his people and countries, whose blinde affeccion th'example of this noble Prince vtterly condemneth.

1413. Titus Liuius. The yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, and of the age of this prince the xxvj^th^ yeare, the nineth daie of Aprill, was this noble Prince Kinge Henrie the ffift crowned and anoynted Kinge w^th^ all solemnitie and pompe, vsed in the Realme of England. And that done, ymediatlie after Easter and after that he had catholiquely receaued the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and that fealtie of all the estats of his Realme was geuen vnto him in time convenient,

[1] the *B.*; do *Stow.* [2] after *B.*; offer *Stow.*
[3] the prosperous commodity *Stow.*
[4] *Livius*, p. 5. *It is a rather free translation, but is adopted by Stow.*

amongest the first acte[1] of his Coronacion called vnto him all those younge Lordes and gentlemen that were the followers of his younge acts, and had tofore bin most familier w^th^ him,[2] to euerie of whome seuerally he gaue right rich and bounteous giftes, whereby they were all right greatly inhaunced in substaunce.[3] And then he commaunded them that they that woulde change theire life and conuersacion in like manner as he intended to doe shoulde abide w^th^ him and continewe[4] in his Court. And to all them that woulde perseuer in their former light conuersacion he gaue expresse commaundement vppon paine of theire heads neuer after that daye to come to his presence.[5] And in that he leaueth an excellent example to all Princes, as well to them that be present as to them that be comminge, to eschewe and avoide all companie that is susspect of vice; for it is not possible any man that conuerseth and accompanieth himselfe w^th^ royotous and vitious companye, and namely familierly, to keepe him from beinge partner of theire offences. And many times the fauour of such younge men of light conuersacion, and of more light conscience, is an impediment to the Prince indifferently to minister Justice; but to the contrarie their vntrue suggestions prouoketh the Prince often to subuert his Justice; and that hath bin of times past (and if it be yet God knoweth) the vtter impouerishinge and vndooeinge not of a fewe men w^th^in this Realme, w^ch^ haue not bin able to make semblable intercessors and aduocates to theire Prince, for the obteyninge of Justice in theire causes. And when this noble Prince had thus avoyded those younge and suspitious companie from his presence, he then intended to ghostlie and worldly busines. And first he commaundeth to edifie his royal mannor that then was called Shene and nowe Richmond, w^ch^ as yet is knowne to manie men that haue seene the same.[6] He also founded two monasteries vppon the Thames not farr from his said mannor royall. The

Translator.

Titus Liuius.

[1] *So far from Livius*, p. 5.
[2] and had . . . w^th^ him *om. Stow*
[3] whereby . . . substaunce *om. Stow.*
[4] and continewe *om. Stow.*
[5] *Here Stow ends.*
[6] *For this Livius*, p. 5, *has simply* inter opera prima aedes regias aedificari mandavit, quae vulgo dicuntur manerium de Shene. *Stow, Annales*, 343, *reproduces the above down to* Richmond. *Sheen was burnt at Christmas*, 1497, *and rebuilt as Richmond by Henry VII.*

Poli-cronicon. one of the Religion of the Cartusiers,[1] and that he named Bethlem, wherein he founded also a priest anker, and another priest to attend vppon them perpetuallie to singe therefore the Ghostlie consolacion of his soule.[2]

Titus Liuius. And the other Monasterie he founded of religious men and of religious women of Saint Bridgetts religion, and that house he named Sion; and to both those houses he purchased, and also he endowed them right richlie w^th^ great reuenews and rentes.[3]

Trans-lator. And besides that, I haue hearde of the tofore credible reportes, this noble Kinge brought from beyonnd the seas diuers bretheren of the order called Celestines, to whome he intended to haue builded a religious house at Thestleworth[4] besides Syon: but the same brethren (because either theire perfeccion or theire compleccion woulde not agree w^th^ the manner of the countrie, or else w^th^ the ayre) departed this Realme, and returned to there former habitacion, and soyle; by whose departure the intent of this victorious Kinge was vtterly empesshed and voyded in that cause.

Titus Liuius. Brieflie after his Coronacion in the first yeare of his Raigne this wise Kinge, w^th^ the best aduisement that he coulde, ordeined and prouided in euerie part of his Realme Judges and other officers such as he beleeued to be true and iust.[5] And others that were knowen and suspect of couetous or partiallitie he cleerely avoyded from theire offices and roomes. And also in the said first yeare of his raigne he caused the corps of Kinge Richarde the second to be taken from the earth, whome Kinge Henrie the fourth had intimulate[6] in the Friers of Langley, and w^th^ due obseruance to be from thence transported into the Abby of Westminster; where after solemne obseques for him done, was buried in Saint Peters Church in the saide Abbey on the south side of Saint Edwards shrine, by Queene Ann his wife, as he himselfe by his life had desired. Aboute whose Sepulture he founded iiij^or^ Tapers to bren perpetually.[7]

[1] *Thus far Stow.* [2] *Policronicon*, p. 224; *Brut*, p. 496.
[3] *Livius*, p. 5. [4] Isleworth. [5] *Livius*, pp. 5, 6.
[6] *Sic in MSS.*: *read* intumulate.
[7] *Most of this, like the following paragraph, comes from Policronicon*, pp. 224, 231–34. *It was adopted by Stow. See also Brut*, pp. 495, 496.

Also he founded perpetuallie one day in the weeke a dirige w^th^ Nyne Lessons, and one the morne a solemne masse, both by note to be done weekly for the soule of the saide Kinge Richard. And vppon the same daye he hath ordayned to be dooled for ever vj.*s.* viij.*d.* And once in the yeare vppon the Sundaie of the saide Kinge Richards anniuersarie perpetuallie to be geuen to poore people xx.*li.* in pence. Hee also founded for the health of his soule, on the chappell ouer his Sepulter in the saide Abbey of Westminster three Masses to be songen daily by the monks of the same Monasterie, for as longe as the worlde shall endure; w^ch^ masses he ordayned to be songe accordinge to the Tenure of these Verses followinge:— Polycronicon.

Henrici misse quinti sunt hic tabulate
que successiue sunt per monachos celebrate.

Sonday, die Dominica.

The first. Prima sit assumpte de festo Virginis alme} of Th'assumption.

The last. Poscit[1] postremam Christus de morte resurgens} of the resurrection.

Feria Secunda, Mondaie.

The first. Prima salutate de festo Virginis extat} of the salutation.

The last. Nunciat Angelicis laudem postrema choreis} of Angells.

Feria Tertia.

The first. Esse Deum natum de Virgine prima fatetur} of the Natiuitie of our Lord.

The last. Commemorat natam[2] sic vltima missa Mariam} of the Natiuitie of our Ladie.

Feria Quarta.

The first. Prima celebratur ad honorem neupmatis almi} of the Trinitie.

The last. Vltima conceptam denunciat esse Mariam} of the conception of our Ladie.

[1] poscint *B.*; posset, *H.*; poscit *Brut.* [2] natum *MSS.*

Feria Quinta.

The first. Semper prima coli debet de corpore Christi} of the bodie of our Lorde.

The last. Vltima sit facta de Virgine purificata} of the purification.

Feria Sexta.

The first. Concedat[1] vt prima celebratur de cruce sancta} of the Crosse.

The last. Atque salutate fiat postrema Mariae} of the Salutacion.

Sabata.

The first. Omnes ad sanctos[2] est prima colenda supernos} of all Saints.

The last. Vltima de requie pro defunctis petit esse} of requiem.

Semper erit media de proprietate diei.
And alwaies the second of the meane Masse shalbe of the proprietie of the daye.

He ordayned also for his owne soule certaine lights perpetually at masse and at euensonge at his owne Sepulter. And yearelie to be distributed vppon the day of his anny-uersarie twenty pounds in pence to the poore people duringe the Worlde.

Titus Liuius.

[3] In the first yeare of this most excellent Kings raigne, and after that he had raigned, ordayned and established manie profitable things in his realme for the common wealth and prosperitie of his subiects, fortuned a maruelous insurrection of heretiks; of w^ch^ supersticious sect two knights were principall chieftaines, of whome the one was S^r^ John Oldcastell, Lord Cobham, who before the Kings coronacion was forsaken of the Kinge for the same opinions, and vtterlie abiect from his seruice and presence. And th'other knight was named S^r^ Roger Acton.[4] After these two knights as chieftaines

[1] condecet *Brut.*
[2] omnes alii sanctos *Brut.*
[3] *Livius*, pp. 6, 7.
[4] Johannes Acton, *Livius incorrectly.*

followed a greate multitude of people, also erringe from the waie of trueth, w^th^ theire armed power intendinge to oppresse the church, the spirituallitie, the[1] Kinge and the realme. When the newes thereof was first brought to the Kinge at his Mannor of Eltham in the solemnitie of the Epiphanie, and that he was informed that they were assembled in a fielde neare London, and that not farr from Westminster, called Ficket fielde, immediatlie, w^th^out giuinge knowledge of his purpose to anie man, the good Kinge hasted him to his mannor of Westminster, where in all hast possible he assembled his people, w^th^ whome he sent his Brother, the Duke of Clarence, against those scelerate and misbeleeuinge rebellions,[2] whome almost without resistance he vanquished, and tooke part of them, and put the remnant to flight. And those that were taken the Kinge caused to be put to execucion after theire deserts. Amongest whome the aforesaide Lord Cobham was taken and dampned by the Church, was put into the Tower, from whence he escaped by breakinge of the prison, and fledd into Wales; where after he was taken and by the Lord Powes, and brought againe to London, and put to condigne execucion for his false opinions. And the said S^r^ Roger Acton was also taken there, and after condemned by the Church and put to execucion.[3]

Thus the first victorie of that noble Kinge after his Coronacion was against these cursed supersticious heretiques for Christ and the defence of the Church of God, in the defence and supportacion of our Catholique faith.[4] Translator.

[5] In the second yeare of the raigne of this most noble and vertuous Kinge, after that all discencions and commotions[6] Titus Liuius. 1414.

[1] of the *MSS.*; contra sacerdotes, ecclesiam, regem et omne regnum *Livius.*

[2] w^th^ whome . . . rebellions *om. Livius; supplied by the Translator.*

[3] *The last two sentences are an addition by the Translator. Oldcastle was not captured in Jan.* 1414; *his condemnation and escape took place in Sept.–Oct.*, 1413. *The erroneous chronology comes from the Brut.*

[4] *This paragraph, though marked* Translator, *is an expansion of a sentence in Livius*, p. 7.

[5] *Livius*, p. 6, *under the first year, before the account of the Lollard rising. Livius is correct as the first embassy of the archbishop of Bourges was in Jan.* 1414; *but Livius seems to confuse it with the later embassy of June*, 1415. *Stow*, p. 345, *however, follows the Translator, but gives* Liuius, *and* Roger Wall (*the* Pseudo Elmham) *as his authority.*

[6] commons *MSS.*; commotions *Stow.*

in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales [were appeased],[1] and that concord and vnitie were made and established in all parts of the Kings dominions, the Kinge delibered[2] vppon the recouerie of the Realme of Fraunce, w^ch by iust title of inheritance was discended vnto him, and at that time was iniuriouslie w^thhoulden from him by the French Kinge. And because he woulde nothinge proceede against the pleasure of God, he first demaunded aduice and councell of all the discrete and learned men, as well of the spiritualitie in both vniuersities, as of temporallitie through all the Realme, if he might w^thout anie offence against God lawfullie recouer by armes his realme of Fraunce; who, after long deliberacion therevppon amongest them had, of one assent made report, that in so iust and right-wise a quarrell he might lawfullie vse armes, if he might by none other waies attaine his purpose and right inheritance.[3]

Then the Kinge in all things insuing[4] the aduice of his Councell, sent a legation or Ambassage into Fraunce, there to demaund his right in the Councell of the Frenchmen. And if peraduenture they woulde denie to accomplish his desire his Ambassadors shoulde giue them knowledge, that he woulde seeke his right by armes. These Ambassadors were benignely[5] receaued in Fraunce. And for aunswere of there message there[6] denounced, they brought w^th them nothinge to make report of, except that w^thin short time the Frenchmen woulde send there Ambassadours into England to declare there intent to the Kinge vppon his demaund.

Enguerunt. Briefely after the returne of the Kings messengers out of Fraunce ariued into England M^r William Boare, Archbisshopp of Burges, the Earle of Vandesme, M^r Piers Frenell, Bisshopp of Lyceuox, the lord Yuery and of Braquemont, M^r Water Colle, Secretarie to the Frenche Kinge, legates or Ambassadours of Fraunce.[7]

Titus Liuius. These Ambassadors were men of greate authoritie, amongest

[1] *om. MSS.*; *restored from Stow.* [2] deliberated *Stow.*
[3] *An expanded version of Livius*, p. 6.
[4] insued *B.*; insuing *Stow.*
[5] benigne *Livius*; honourably *Stow.* [6] they *MSS.*; there *Stow.*
[7] *Monstrelet*, iii. 72; le comte de Vendôme, maitre Guillaume Bouratier archeveque de Bourges, l'eveque de Lisieux, nomme maitre Pierre Franel, les seigneurs d'Ivry et de Braquemont, maitre Gautier Col, secretaire du roi. *Stow has* Bouratier (*as in H.*), *but otherwise follows the Translator.*

whome the Archbishopp of Burges was the principall and the chiefe,[1] who in like manner as the Englishe Legats in Fraunce were also receaued beningly and in greate honnor heere in England.

[2] Notw^th^standinge that, at theire comminge they presented the Kinge from the Kinge there M^r^ w^th^ a Tonn of Tennis Balls, as in dirision w^th^ credence to say by mouth that the Kings youth was more apte to passe the time in such deinties and games, then to enterprise the invasion of such and so mightie a realme as is Fraunce. Polycronicon.

[3] After a certaine time of repose,[4] at a place and time lymitted for the same, the saide Ambassadours of Fraunce by the mouth of the saide Bisshopp of Bourges right elegantly proposed there message; and in the end of there proposicion, they offered to the Kinge certaine lands and a greate summe of money. And also the daughter of the Kinge there M^r^ to be geuen vnto him in marriage, so that he woulde desist from that warr that he then intended to make in Fraunce. After this proposicion thus made, these Ambassadours were right honnorablie receaued of the Kinge to dynner. And at another day, for the same lymited, the Kinge, by the mouth of the Archbisshopp of Canterbury made to them aunswer accordinge to theire message. The effect whereof was that because theire proffers were not sufficient recompence for the Kings rightfull inheritaunce in Fraunce, w^ch^ then was vniustlie detayned from him, the Kinge in noe manner woulde condiscend to there requests, but gaue them for a fynall aunswere, that he woulde demaunde his right by armes in the best manner he coulde, and that as briefely to him as possible. Then the Archbisshopp of Bourges, after lycence graunted, saide: 'Oh thou Kinge, w^th^ honnor and reuerence, what 'thinkest thou desiringe thus iniustlie to depose the most 'Christian Kinge of Fraunce, our right deere and right 'doubted Lorde and Soueraigne, the most noble and most Enguerlunt.

[1] legationis princeps . . . episcopus *Livius* p. 6; *Hearne supplies the gap by quoting the text above in a note.*

[2] *Policronicon*, p. 225; *this was in Feb.* 1414.

[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 73–5. *This relates to the second embassy of the Archbishop of Bourges in June*, 1415. *Stow adopts the paragraph with some abbreviation.*

[4] reproofe *B.*

'excellent of all Christian Princes, from the chaire and throne 'of so greate and puissant a realme? Oh thou Kinge, w^th 'honnor and reuerence, thinkest thou that he hath offered, or 'caused to be offered, to thee his lands and money w^th his 'owne daughter to be thie wife for anie dreade or feare that 'he hath of thee, of thie subiects and confederats. Nay! but 'the same our Soueraigne Lord mooued w^th pittie, as the 'louer of peace, hath made thee this offer to th'intent that 'innocent blood be not spilte and distroyed, and that Christian 'people by this troublesome warr be not slaine and murdered. 'And by the aide of God that is all puissant, of the blessaunt[1] 'virgin Marie, and of all the Saints in heauen, he shall at all 'times defende himselfe, his lands, and subiects from thine 'vniust invasions. And as to vs that be his Ambassadours, 'we desire thee to make to vs sure conducte without damage 'through thie realme, and thoroughe thie lands and thie 'dominions. And that thou also write to our Soueraigne 'Lord this thine aunswere entirely vnder thie Seale and thie 'Signe Manuell.' W^ch request, notwithstandinge theire vngoodly and inordinate manner and wordes,[2] the Kinge right benignely graunted vnto them.

Titus Liuius.

[3] In the open Councell tofore the Kinge and all his Lords and estats, these Ambassadours, when they perceaued there offers to be refused by the Kinge, stroue and contended in words against the Kinge and his Councell. And after that they fell into laughinge in manner of dirision, as if they had bin assured that the Kinge feared to mooue warr against the realme of Fraunce. And notw^thstandinge they spoke many approbrious words and dishonest, both against the realme of England, and against the Kinge, yet the lawe of Legates was in them obserued; for as they came, so they departed w^thout trouble and vexacion.

Enguerunt.

[4] After that these Ambassadours had receaued of the Kinge manie rich giftes and rewards (w^ch they had not deserued) they departed, and retourned into Fraunce, were tofore the Duke of Barry[5] and others of the Kings Councell of

[1] benoite *Monstrelet.*

[2] *The clause* notwithstandinge . . . wordes *is an insertion of the Translator; it was omitted by Stow.*

[3] *Livius*, p. 6. [4] *Monstrelet*, iii. 75. [5] Barry *om. B.*

Fraunce in the Cittie of Parris they openly declared all the aunswere and ordinaunce of there Ambassage.

[1] Imediatly after the departure of this Ambassage out of England the Kinge laboured w^th^ all dilligence for the apparrelinge of his people and other things necessarie for the warr.[1] In the saide seconde yeare of his raigne in a greate Parlyament [at Leicester],[2] where Dukes, Earles, Barrons, Bisshopps, Abbotts, Knights and Burgesses were assembled, his Brother Humphrie, [was made][3] Duke of Glocester. And in the same Parliament he enacted that euerie heretique in the Realme of Englande like as he was taken as an aduersarie to God he shoulde be taken as a traytor to the kings Ma^tie^. Manie other fruitefull and profitable Statuts he made and enacted in the same Parliament, w^ch^ because they be not necessarie to my purpose, and also for that they be seriouslie recited in other bookes ordeyned for the same, I shall heare ouer passe and leaue vnwritten. Titus Liuius.

[4] In this Parliament were deuises and meanes to gather monie of all the Commons of England to sustaine therew^th^ the Kings warrs, and to make prouision of all things necessarie for the same, whereof the summe leuied and gathered, as well of the spirituallitie as of the temporallitie, amounted to the somme of three hundered thousand Markes.[5] And one the other part the Dolphine of Fraunce, who at that time had taken vppon him the charge of the Realme of Fraunce because of the disabillitie of the Kinge, after he was aduertised of his Ambassadours of the Kinge of Englands enterprise, assembled his Councell, the Duke of Barry,[6] his vnckell, and diuers others of the greate states of Fraunce, by whose aduise and councell he deputed garrisons to all townes and fortresses of the sea side; he also gathered fynaunces by tayles and otherwise thorough all the Realme of Fraunce as much as was to him possible. Enguermunt.

[1] *Livius*, pp. 6, 7. [2] *om. MSS.*

[3] *om. B.*; this most Christian Kinge made his brother Humfrie Duke of Glocester, and his brother John Duke of Bedforde *H.*

[4] *Monstrelet*, iii. 70, 71; *referring to the Council held at Westminster in April*, 1415.

[5] la somme de cinq cent mille nobles d'Angleterre *Monstrelet. Stow reads*, were deuised diuers meanes.

[6] *Jean, duc de Berri.*

The Kinge greatelie desiringe the recouerie of his right in the realme of Fraunce (fastings, prayers to God, almes deedes, deuoute pilgrimages of the Kinge, and other deuocions and supplicacions of the Clergie and Commons had before) mustered his vniuersall hoast vppon the sea bankes at Southampton,[1] amonge whome he founde a certaine gentleman, whose name was Olandyne,[2] in whose companie were xx^tie men right well apparrelled for the warr. This Olandyne of time passed had geuen all his substaunce and goodes to poore people for Christ his sake, in greate deuocion entred a Monasterie of the Charterhouse, and was professed in the same; whose wife was also professed in a house of religious weomen and therein continewed deuoutlie duringe her life. But this Olandyne, at the instigacion of the deuill, enemie to all vertue, after a little time repented of his profession, and made sute and laboure that he obtayned of the Pope a dispensation to leave his religion, and to reprise his former temporall estate, and in the estate of a temporall man he offered to doe the Kinge seruice in his warr. But when the most vertuous Kinge was enformed of his life and conuersacion as the childe of God, he refused the companie of this gentleman, as an inconstant man, and a contemner of the religion of Christ; at whose refuse this Olandine, havinge indignacion as a man repleate w^th pride, departed from the Kinge, and went into the aide of his aduersaries in Fraunce; where after he was slaine in the fielde of Agincourt, right sore fightinge against the Englishmen.[3]

Olandyne Apostata slaine against the kinge at Agincourte.

Translator.

O howe greate prudence and deuocion to God by this acte was proued to be in this Kinge! w^ch only hauinge his confidence in God and in the justice of his quarrell refused the companie of them that he suspected to be of the indignacion of the highe and soueraigne iudge, to whose judgement onlie, leauinge of synners, he had committed the direccion of his house; wherefore and by the helpe of manie other greate and singuler virtues it is vndoubted that he obtayned such and so greate grace of

[1] *Livius*, p. 7, *does not mention* Southampton; *the Translator supplies it from the Brut*, p. 375. *Stow quotes as above as from Livius.*

[2] procerem quendam Olandinum *Livius*: baro quidem de Holandia *Pseudo-Elmham*, p. 35.

[3] *A free paraphrase of Livius*, p. 7.

our Lorde, that by his helpe and succour (whereof he was neuer destitute) he attayned greate and incredible victories and conquests; for as we finde of authoritie by the Kings, Dukes, and Judges of the people of Isaraell in the olde testament, as by Daniel, Gedyon, and Judas Machabeus, and many others (whose histories are not requisite heare to write) God hath often deliuered his seruants that only haue there esperaunce in him, that from the hands of tenn times so manie of theire enemies, where he hath suffered greate multitudes of synners and of such as have had theire trust in the number of people, not havinge respect to there manner of conversation and lyuinge, to perish and fall into the handfull of theire enemies. Therefore, to my pretence, it is in this partie to be noted, that all Christian Princes, enterprisinge any iust quarrell of warr, ought by the example of this most Christian Kinge dewlie (for as much as in them is) to search and examine there companies and hoasts or armies, w^ch^ they prepare to attayne vppon their warr, and whome they finde therein contamynable w^th^ apostacie, open aduoutrie, willfull murder, accustomable theft, scuraledy, heresie, periurie, blasphemie by oathes, accustomable vsurie, simonie, extorcion, oppression of poore people, misvsinge the Sacraments of the Church, and generally w^th^ anie other open and manifest abhominable offence or vice, whatsoeuer it be, if the person perseuer therein not reconciled, they ought, and are bounde to avoide that person vtterly from theire companie, not lettinge for no fauour nor affection, least that God for the displeasure of that only sinfull person, w^th^drawe his aide and fauour from the whole companie, wherein that transgressor is. The Prince that escheweth the presence of such persons, and doth that in him is for there punishment, sheweth himselfe to bee th'ensuer and supporter of vertue, and the oppressour and scourge of vice, and also to be the verie faithfull and true childe of God. And to the contrarie that Prince, that supporteth such vicious persons and delighteth in theire companie, and confidenceth in theire helpe, proueth himselfe to the open iudgement of euerie man to be th'ensuer, supporter, and prouoker of vice, the oppressor, and confounder of vertue, and also to have little or none experience in the aide of God, who is all virtue and intirelie good, and at all

times restrayneth his hand from the aide hand of sinners excepte it be to theire perpetuall damnation.

Titus Liuius. [1] In the foresaid muster or viewe of the Kings hoast was also discouered a greate and perrilous conspiracie of three men against the Kinge,[2] of whome the one was the Earle of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of Yorke, and nigh to the Kings blood; the second was S^r Thomas Gray, one of the Kings greate Councillors; and the third was the Lord Henrie Scrope, Treasorer of Englande, before that a knight of chiualorous fame, whome for the greate loue the Kinge had vnto him he vsed to haue for his bedfellowe.[3]

Policronicon. These three persons had receaued out of Fraunce a right greate somme of monie, to th'ende that they shoulde by treason destroy there Soueraigne Lorde.[4]

Titus Liuius. But when they were taken and had confessed theire offence, by the Kings iust iudgement they were condemned to loose theire heades.[5]

Enguerunt. [6] And for the same conspiracie diuers others were put to execucion by the Kings commaundement. The most vertuous Kinge lyinge now at Southampton w^th his hoast in all things readilie apparrelled to passe the Sea and desiringe the recouerie of his inhabitance [7] by meane of peace rather than of warr; in the ensuinge [8] th'effusion of Christian blood [9] sent to the Kinge of Fraunce his Harraulde w^th letters, nowe againe demaundinge Justice of his Inhabitants.

Lr̃a Regis. The tennor of w^ch letters ensewinge follow:—'To the Right 'noble Prince Charles our Cossyn, adversarie of Fraunce, Henrie 'by the grace of God, Kinge of England and of Fraunce greet-'inge &c. To giue to euery man his right is the worke of 'Charitie and of sage Councell. Right noble Prince our Cossyn 'and our aduersarie, of longe time passed and but nowe of late 'the noble Realme of Englande and of Fraunce were mutuall 'freinds either to other, and nowe they be deuided. Then they

[1] *Livius*, p. 8. [2] *So far adopted by Stow.*
[3] whome . . . bedfellowe, *not in Livius*, p. 8; *it comes from Monstrelet*, iii. 82.
[4] *Policronicon*, p. 225; *Brut*, p. 375; *the former does not refer to the bribery.*
[5] *Livius*, p. 8. [6] *Monstrelet*, iii. 78–81, 82.
[7] inhabitance *om. B.* [8] *Read* eschewinge.
[9] *The first part of this sentence is an insertion by the Translator.*

'had of custome to inhaunce themselves in honnor through the 'vniuersall worlde, by theire glorious victories, and to them was 'appropriat one vertue, that was to support and exalt the house 'of God wherevnto belongeth holines. And to conforme peace 'betweene the Religions[1] of the Church, in subduinge of theire 'puissaunce there publique [enemies][2] by the victories of the 'fortunate Battailes. But also that fraternall loue, faith, and 'concorde nowe is chaunged into mutuall action.[3] And Loth[4] 'persecuteth Abraham by compulsion. The glorie of the 'brotherlie loue is deade, and the auncient discencion of 'humaine condicion and the mother of Ire is reuiued. But we 'call to our witnes the Soueraigne Iudge, that to our possi- 'bilitie we haue endeauored vs by praiers, by guiftes, and by 'proffers to diminish part of our inhabitaunce in Fraunce, to 'inclyne you to the way of peace, and the same we haue 'prooued all the waies and meanes we coulde. But in so much 'as we cannot attaine to our desired peace, w^th^out the greate 'and intollerable preiudice of our auncient inheritaunce, wee be 'not of so fainte and so smale courage but that we will fight 'vnto death for our right. Not w^th^ standinge we haue vsed, 'and in this part doe vse the councell authorised, intituled 'Deuteronomy,[5] where we be insigned and taught, that if we 'come w^th^ force to take any Cittie, Countrie, or Towne, first 'wee owe to offer vnto them our peace. And though that 'injustice and wrongfull violence hath of longe time w^th^ drawne 'and detayned from vs and our progenitors the nobles of our 'Realme and right inhabitaunces,[6] yet the zeale of peace hath 'mooued vs in th'ensewinge[7] of the effusion of blood to desyre 'our saide right by way of peace; but since we perceaue vs 'frustrate of our requests, for defaulte of justice we may law- 'fullie demaunde our iust inhabitaunces by armes. Neuerthe- 'les, that our outward acts may be witnes to conscience, nowe 'by personall requests in this first entre of our iourney, where-

[1] *Read* Regions: mettre paix és régions de l'Eglise *Monstrelet.*
[2] *om. MSS.*; les ennemis publiques *Monstrelet.*
[3] celle foi de lignage a perverti celle occision fraternelle *Monstrelet.*
[4] both *MSS.*
[5] *Deuteronomy*, xx. 10.
[6] la noblesse de notre couronne et nos droits héritages *Monstrelet.*
[7] *Read* the eschewinge.

'vnto we be constrayned for defaulte of justice, wee exhorte 'you in the bowells of Jesus Christ to execute and doe that 'thinge that the Euangelist teacheth, sayinge: "Freinde, pay 'that thou owest, and restore that thou wrongefully detaynest." 'And to th'ende that the blood of innocence be not spilt, wee 'require due restitucion of our rightful inhabitance by you 'wrongefully w^th^ houlden from vs, or at the least of those 'things that wee so instantlie and so often by our Ambassa- 'dours and messengers haue desired, wherew^th^ only for the 'loue of Soueraigne God, and for th'assurance of peace, we 'shalbe contented. And we for our part rather offeringe peace 'w^th^ part of our right, then the auaricius treasures in cause of 'marriage, to leaue and forsake fiftie thousand scutes, w^th^ our 'right deere Cosyn Catheryne, your glorious daughter, to vs by 'your last Ambassadours offered. And wee for our part[1] trust 'rather to haue those our rightfull inhabitaunces, w^ch^ our noble 'Auncestors left vnto vs, then w^th^ that monie of iniquitie to 'multiplie cursed treasures, and to disinherit the Crowne of 'our realme, that God forbidd. From vs yeouen vnder our 'Seales priuate at our Castle at Hampton, vppon the rivage of 'the Sea, the 5^th^ day of the moneth of August.'

[2]When this letter was deliuered to the Dolphine and others of the Kings Councell by the herauld, that had the charge of deliueraunce thereof, it was aunswerde to the same Herraulde, that the Kinge and his Councell had seene his letter, and perseaued the contents thereof, wherevppon they woulde take deliberacion, and at there pleasure to puruey to aunswere thervnto in time and place convenient. And in the meane tyme the Herraulde was lycenced to depart and to returne to his M^r^ the Kinge of Englande at his pleasure.

Anno 3. In the thirde yeare of his raigne, in the month of August this most virtuous Kinge assembled his hoast at Southampton, as is before rehearsed, in the intent to passe the sea, and to conquer his right in Fraunce, for whose conveyaunce, and for his victualls and artillery, by the Kings commaundement were purveyed and brought thether for his wagis out of Holland and Zelande shipps, hulks, and other vessells, to such number that

[1] wee for our part *has been struck out in B., and omitted in H.*
[2] *Monstrelet*, iii. 81.

his whole nauy at his departinge from the lande accoumpted xvj. C. sayle.[2] Polycronicon,[1] xv^c sayles.

[3] The xij^th day of August the Kinge w^th all his royall armie entered there shipps, w^ch were to the number of M., and ascended the sea: and the thirde night after they arriued prosperouslie at the Chiefe decauxe[4] in Normandy, w^ch is betwexte Hareflete[5] and Humflete[6]: at whose comminge all the cities and greate estats aduertized (by them that fledd by the fieldes) were stricken w^th greate feare. The Kinge, the Dukes of Clarence and of Gloucester, the kings bretheren, the Duke of Yorke, his vncle,[7] Earles, Barrons, Knights, gentlemen, and all the multitude of the common people cast there ankers at Chiefe de Caux, and there ariued and to lande w^thout any resistaunce. Titus Liuius.

Then foorthw^th the Kinge fallinge to the grounde vppon his knees deuoutly prayed vnto God that to the honnor of his diuinitie he woulde giue him iustice of his enemies.

Heere it is to be noted that this most victorious Prince had not his confidence only in his owne strenght and hardines, in the puissaunce of his bretheren or other his Lords and estats, ne in the greate multitude of armed people that he had brought w^th him, but only that he had his trust in God, of whome at his first entrie into the lande, that he claymed to be his, he deuoutly desired Justice. The Kinge at his landinge in Normandie had in his hoast Six M. speares, and xxiiij. M. footmen, besides gunners and others that serued to cast engins, and besides other artificers and laborers, of whome the Kinge hadd greate aboundance.[8] Translator.

[9] And at his landinge he gaue to diuerse gentlemen the order of knighthoode, but first he assigned and committed the bearinge of his standards, and banners, and other ensignes to such men as he knewe to be of greate strenght and prowes, Titus Liuius.

[1] *Policronicon*, p. 225; *Brut*, p. 376.
[2] *Monstrelet*, iii. 70; *Stow quotes this as from Livius and Roger Wall.*
[3] *Livius*, p. 8; tercio Idibus, i. e. 11th August *which is correct*; *Stow has* thirteenth of August.
[4] Chef de Caux. [5] Harfleur. [6] Honfleur.
[7] dux Eboraci, regis patruus *Livius*. *York was Henry's cousin.*
[8] *The numbers are added by the Translator from Monstrelet*, iii. 83; *they are much in excess of the truth, but are adopted by Stow.*
[9] *Livius*, pp. 8, 9.

and also [worthy][1] to the bearinge of them; when euerie thinge was thus ordered in good aray, the Kinge w^th^ all his hoast ascended to the topp or hight of an high hill there nighe vnto them, dificill and vneasie for armed men to mount vppon. And there the Kinge w^th^ all his hoast the next day followinge solemnized the feast of Th'assumption of our blessed Lady w^th^ dew honnor: and that solemnitie passed, the Duke of Clarence, chieftaine of the Kings first ward, in good ordinance entered his journey with the same warde toward a Towne called Harefleit, distant from Chiefe de Calx skarsly three leagues, where he lodged his hoast in a goodly fielde before the Towne, abidinge the Kings comminge. The Kinge, at his comminge, lodged himselfe nighe to the first warde in the playne fielde not farr from the Towne. The Earle of Suffolke, chieftaine of the last warde, lodginge him and his companie also before the Towne one the other side of the Kings fielde. And other noble men, that hadd the conduct of the two winges, lodged them on the right hand, and the other on the left hand of the hoast. Then this most Christian Kinge, at the first orderinge of his assiege, commaunded to be proclaymed thorough the hoast, that vppon payne of death all Churches and hallowed houses shoulde be kepte inviolat, vnspoyled and vnharmed, nor that no man shoulde presume to take any hallowed vessell, or other commoditie, or ornament appertaynninge to the Altar, nor no bookes nor other things necessarie for diuine seruice. And that they shoulde not enforce them to harme any man of the Church that they shoulde finde without armor, nor no woman, nor childe.[2]

Translator. By this edict and proclamacion evidently proued both the loue and dreade that this most victorious Kinge had vnto God, and to his Church, and ministers; the example whereof is not to be refused, nor lightly taken. But of all Christian Princes, that intend to obtayne honnor and to be victorious, it is to be effectually ensued and followed.

Titus Liuius. [3] This and manie other edicts and proclamacions through the hoast published, forthw^th^ were sent to the Towne men of

[1] *om. MSS.*; dignosque *Livius; Stow stops at* prowesse.
[2] *Stow adopts the whole of this paragraph with very slight variation.*
[3] *Livius*, p. 9.

arms in greate number to see the situacion thereof, who briefelie returned to the Kinge w^th^ a greate pray of cattell, and after made him answere in all his demaunds to the contentacion of his mynde.

[1] Hareflete is the key of the sea of all Normandie, and it is scituate vppon the sea side by the ryuer of Seen, betweene two hills, and through the middle thereof runneth a ryuer, w^ch^ not farr from the same Towne entereth in to the Seen; and from thence both theise riuers in one descende into the sea, whereas a greate goodlie hauen is belonginge vnto the same Towne, w^ch^ hauen is garnished w^th^ the defence of two fayre and stronge towers, and in the same hauen a right greate nauie of shipps may ride in safetie. And if the inhabitants of this Towne inclose and keepe w^th^in this Towne the course of the foresaide riuer to theire sluce, as they may right well doo, then the riuer riseth w^th^ out the Towne so high that it forecloseth all entries to the walls, so that no man may approach the Towne on that partie.[2] This Towne is also garnished w^th^ high and thicke walls, and also w^th^ manie Towers, and is also invironed w^th^ broade and deepe ditches. To this belongeth also too gates onlie for entries, whereof the one is called the gate of Calthurances,[3] and the other the gate Monstrouylier.[4] In this Towne, besides the inhabitants thereof, for the defence of the same were these Lords; first the Lorde Disconteville,[5] chiefe captaine of the Towne, the Lord Blanvile, the Lorde Hacqueuile, the Lorde of Harmonvile, the Lord Gancourt, the Lord Gallard bos,[6] and diuers other Lords and men expert in warr, to the number before saide.[7] These Lords caused the people to cast downe and breake the causey betwext Monstrevilges and Hareflete to impaire and hurte the Englishmens passage, and the stones of the same causey they conueyed

[1] *The following paragraph is quoted by Stow, who set* Enguerant (*Monstrelet*) *in the margin; as a matter of fact much of it comes from Livius.*

[2] *So far from Livius*, p. 9; *thence the Translator follows Monstrelet*, iii. 83, 84.

[3] Caltmanes *H.*; Calturances *Stow*; Calcinences *Monstrelet.*

[4] Montivilliers; Monstrouillier *Stow.* [5] Charles d'Estouteville.

[6] Blainville, Hacqueville, Hermanville, Gaucourt, and Gaillart Bos (*Monstrelet*, iii. 83).

[7] *Given by Monstrelet* (iii. 83) *as about four hundred; Stow omits* to the number before saide.

and carried w^th^in the walles of Hareflete. Neuertheles the Englishmen comminge by the good[1] conducte of the Kinge were not so sore oppressed by the breakinge of the causie, but that they came so nighe as to laye theire siege before the Towne.

Titus Liuius.

[2] When the Kinge and all his hoast was come before the Towne, all his tents and pauillions were addressed, and sett vpp in the plaine fielde, wherw^th^ that parte of the Towne[3] was entirely inclosed. He also caused his greate hall to be sett vppon an hill at the backe of his hoast to serue in steade of a Church,[4] therein to honnor and serue God. And this done, after a little time of repose he commaunded the Duke of Clarence to siege the Towne one th'other part of the Towne and riuer, at whose commaundement the good Duke indeauored him to convey his people ouer the same riuer, ouer the passage whereof he had a great skirmish w^th^ the inhabitants of the Towne[5]; but at the last his aduersaries put to flight and recoyled[6] w^th^in the walls, the Duke conueyed ouer the river all his ward and companie; and on that side the riuer he fixed the tents and pauillions, w^ch^ inclosed that part of the Towne from the side of the same riuer by the foot of the hill vntill the banks of the Riuer of Sean. The Duke also sett his greate hall vppon the hill at the back[7] of his warde or fielde, not farr from his hoast, therein to serue God as is aforesaide.[8] And because the riuer deuided the Kings fielde and the Dukes, therefore they ordeyned a readie and sure passage ouer the same riuer betwext the fieldes; to the keepinge whereof were certaine gentlemen appointed, so that theire enemies shoulde doe thereto no damage neither by water nor by lande. When all the tents and pauillions and halls were erect and set vpp, they seemed a right greate and mightie Citty. The artificers and laborers in the Kings

[1] comminge to good *MSS.*; by the *Stow.*
[2] *A loose and expanded rendering of Livius*, p. 9; *but adopted with some variation by Stow.*
[3] of the fielde Towne *MSS.*
[4] propter quoddam sacellum *Livius.*
[5] Towne and river *MSS.*; Towne *Stow*; cum oppidanis *Livius.*
[6] being put to flight recoyled *Stow.* [7] banck *B.*
[8] Praetorium tamen suum in montis clivo itidem in sacello quodam erigit *Livius*; *Stow omits.*

hoast intended to theire occupacions, some to raysinge engines against the Towne, and others about perticuler busines for the men of warr, as to digge trenches and such other like necessaries, so that noe place of idleness was founde in them. The priests thorough all the hoasts were suffered to doe no other thinge, but onlie holie prayers to honnor God, and to saie theire accustomed seruice, as they used to doe, when they were at home in England in time of peace.

[1] In this time befell a greate misaduenture to the Frenchmen that were besieged, for the gunnpowder and shott that was sent vnto them by the French Kinge, was encountred vppon the sea by the Englishmen, and taken to theire greate displeasure and damage.[2] Enguerunt.

[3] The Kinge gaue the charge and order of this fielde to his brother Humphry, the Duke of Gloucester w^th^ all the companies, whereof he was Chiefetaine. On the same side the Kinge lay, and at the same side of the riuer was the Duke of Yorke, high Counstable of Englande,[4] lodged w^th^ his companie. When all the Kings hoast was lodged and everie man in his place, the Towne was so streightlie beseiged amongst them that all entries and issues of the Towne were foreclosed and stopped, so that they in the Towne were in dispaire to haue anie succour from the realme of Fraunce. Manie torments and engines were raised in the English hoast, w^ch^ in briefe time shoulde haue bin the distruccion of the walles, if they of the Towne had not stopped the riuer of the same Towne w^th^in, whereby the water gathered and arised w^th^out the Towne, betwexte the Kinge and the Duke of Clarence, to the semblaunce of a little sea, w^ch^ caused the Englishmen to withdrawe theire ordinance and other engines, whereby at that time the walls were saued. Titus Liuius.

[5] The Kinge w^th^ greate dilligence caused to be made vnder Enguerunt.

[1] *Monstrelet*, iii. 84; *adopted by Stow.*

[2] *Monstrelet has simply*: furent prins des asségans. *The reference is to the convoy captured by Clarence outside the town; cf. Pseudo-Elmham*, p. 41.

[3] *Livius*, pp. 9, 10; *adopted by Stow.*

[4] regioque Marescallo *Livius. Clarence was Constable.*

[5] *Monstrelet*, iii. 85. Néantmoins le dit roy d'Angleterre, en grand diligence et labeur, persévera toujours en son siége, et fist faire trois mines par dessoulz la muraille, qui estoient prestes pour effondrer. *Stow adopts the Translator's story of mines under the water.*

the water three greate mynes vnto the walls of the Towne, w^ch^ in like manner had bene the cause of theire ruyne, if th'inhabitants had not countermined them, and let there purpose.

Titus Liuius.

[1] And the Duke of Clarence commaunded on his partie his myners to vndermyne the grounde, and to make a way into the Towne w^th^in the grounde, in intent by that meane to surprise his enemie sodenlie w^th^in the Towne; but there aduerse partie, aduertised thereof, countermined the Englishmen. At whose meetinge w^th^in the grounde was a cruell and deadly conflict, but finallie the English were frustrate of theire intent, and were compelled to desist from the enterprise, and partly by the Kings commaundement because his people had greate losse therein; and so remayned that worke vntill they might be lycenced of the Kinge to furnishe there promise begunne.[2]

Notw^th^standinge dailie they encountered there enemies in the myne; and who most manly fought in the same, supposed himselfe to haue atchiued greate victorie. And so that myne that was begun for the sodaine invasion of the Towne was chainged into the exercise of knightlie acts. The Kinge daylie and nightlie in his owne person visited and searched the watches, orders, and stacions of everie part of his hoast, and whome he founde dilligent he praised and thanked, and the negligent he corrected and chasticed. Whilest he laie at this siege he sent into England all those shipps of his Nauie that were not apt and apparrelled for the water. And the other that were good, stronge, and well appointed for the warr, he commaunded to lye at the havens mouth of Hareflete to inclose it from all issues, and to foreclose from it all entries and succours of the Frenchmen; and also those shipps that were deputed to carrie engines or ordinaunce he commaunded to abide at the havens mouth in the companie of th'other shipps.[3] Th'inhabitants and captaines of the Towne, perceauinge themselves thus streightlie asseiged, as well by the land as by the sea, conveyed all their shipps w^th^in theire haven, and bounde them together w^th^ chaynes. And in the two towers that were made for the defence of the haven they put in certaine garri-

[1] *Livius*, p. 10. [2] *A free paraphrase.*
[3] *At this point Stow* (*who had stopped at* letted theire purpose) *resumes.*

sons and armed men, both for defence of the hauen, and of theire shipps. And dyuers times they attempted by all the streinghts and cautellous meanes they coulde imagine to invade the Kings Navie; but at all times they were by the shipps beaten and constrayned to recoyle vntill within theire hauen [1]. At the last theire Captaines and inhabitants, consideringe that by such skirmishes (as well vppon the land as vppon the sea) they gayned nothinge but theire proper losse and damage, tooke this appointment w^th^ the Kinge, that if they were not rescued by the Frenchmen w^th^in certaine daies [2] lymited, they shoulde then deliuer into his hands the Towne; such as the Kinge woulde desire to be ordered at the Kings pleasure; and all the residue, as well men of warr as th'inhabitants of the same Towne w^th^out armour, and leavinge behinde them theire goods, should freelie goe where they woulde; for the suretie of such appointment surely to be kept they deliuered vnto the Kinge twelue of the greatest parsonages for pledges.

[3] And for to giue knowledge of this appointment and of theire greate necessitie and dainger vnto the Dolphine (who at that time lay at Vernon, w^th^ the Kinge, vppon Seen) the Captaines of the Towne sent vnto him the Lord Hacquevile, who in there names desired aide and succoure of him, to whome fynally was aunswered: That the Kings power was not at that time assembled, nor readie to giue them succour as they desired; w^th^ w^ch^ aunswere the Lord not well contented retourned w^th^ greate discomfort to Harefleet, declaringe to his the aunswere that he had receaued of the Dolphine.[4] Enguerunt.

[5] The Captaines and inhabitants of the Towne seeinge theire day of appointment approach, and themselues vtterly desperate of any succors of theire people, ordayned to performe there couenant at the day prefixed. At w^ch^ day the Kings great Titus Liuius.

[1] Quas cum timentes oppidani suas omnes infra portum ligatas catenis tutelaque munitas deduxerant, et in Anglicos omni qua via poterant obsessi saepius erumpere tentarunt, sed ab obsidentibus repulsi cedere semper coacti *Livius*; *Stow gives the text as above with some abbreviation.*

[2] infra sex dies *Livius.*

[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 85. *Stow omits this paragraph.*

[4] *Monstrelet has simply*: Et sur ce s'en retourna le dit seigneur de Hacqueville à Harfleur.

[5] *Livius*, p. 11.

pretory of sylke [1] was erect in the fields, from w^ch^ pretorye or pauilion vnto the Towne was made a way or lane enclosed on both the sides w^th^ armed Englishmen, by w^ch^ waye [2] the daie of theire appointment, w^ch^ was the day of Saint Maurice,[2] came S^r^ Lionell Braquemont, a noble knight and gouernor of the Towne, vnto the Kings highnes and kneelinge before his Grace saide these words: 'Most victorious Prince, behold here 'the keyes of this Towne, w^ch^ after our promise I yealde vnto 'you w^th^ the Towne, my selfe, and my companie.' Then were brought to the Kings grace by his commaundement, the Lord Cotevile, the Lord Gangcourt,[3] and other of the number of thirtie persons, as they before had couenaunted. And all the residue, as well souldiers and inhabitaunts, were suffered vnarmed to goe freely at theire pleasure.

When the gates of the Towne were opened, and that the King approached vnto them in purpose to enter the Towne, he discended from his horse w^th^out the Gate, and from thence, w^th^out hosen or shoes, in greate deuocion he went imediatly to the Church of Saint Martines, Metropolitan of that Towne,[4] and there he made his prayers deuoutlie in thankinge and praysinge his Creator of his good Fortune.[5] O maruelous constance! that by the prouidence of God had made them habitacion w^th^out mutabilitie in this most noble Prince, who in his youth was most mutable and voyde of all spirituall vertues.

And whome none for noe perswacions or inhauncements of fortune they suffered in his victories in any thinge to decline from the Soueraigne vertues of faithe and humilitie. But voyde of all pride and vaine glorie, causeth him in greate deuocion, as well in the beginninge, as in the atchiuinge of his enterprise, at all times to thanke, honnor, and praise his maker, by whose onlie aide and comfort he vndoubtedlie beleeueth to attaine

[1] de serico regium praetorium *Livius*.
[2] *Interpolated by the Translator from Monstrelet*; 22nd Sept.
[3] dominus de Toteville, dominus de Gancourt *Livius*; the Lord Cotevile, the Lord Gangcourt *Stow*; *they were* Charles d'Estouteville *and* Raoul de Gaucourt.
[4] parochiale d'icelle ville *Monstrelet*.
[5] *So far from Monstrelet*, iii. 94; *adopted by Stow. The next sentence and the beginning of the following paragraph appears to be an interpolation by the Translator.*

w^th^ honnour to the ende of that he hath begunn; not like vnto the conquered, in most pompe and pride, delightinge in vaine prayses and lauds of the people, and labouringe to make the victories to be ascribed vnto themselues, as if God intermedled not of such affairs. When this most victorious Kinge had thus deuoutlie thanked God of the Fortunate Conquest of this Towne, he commaunded to be brought befor him all those Lords, and gentlemen that were yealded to him as prisoners, whose names he caused to be put in writinge; and vppon there oathes to yealde themselues prisoners at Calice, where they were receaued prisoners, vppon S^t^ Martins daye next followinge, they were deliuered out of the Towne of Harefleet. Att w^ch^ time and day accordinge to there appointment they came to Callis as prisoners, and were ransomed at greate fynaunces.[1] After the deliuerie of this Towne, the two aforesaide Towers, that defended the hauen, resisted the Kings power, and rebelled against him by the space of tenn daies. At the ende of w^ch^ daies, because they were in dispaire of succour, they yealded them to the Kinge, and all the souldiours and inhabitants, both of the Towne and of the Towers, were suffered to goe freelie vnarmed whether they woulde.[2] When the Kinge was thus possessed both of the Towne and Towers, by his commaundement was deuided to euery man of the Kings hoast,[3] after his degree and desert, all the booties and gaine that they had w^th^in the Towne, and namelie horses, whereof they founde a right greate multitude there. Then the Kinge constituted Captaine of the Towne S^r^ Thomas Beaforde, Earle of Dorset, his vncle, to whome he also committed two thousand souldiers, chosen men of his hoast, for to keepe, and defend the same Towne and Towers.[4] These things thus done and finished, the Kinge assembled all his estates and Lords of his hoast to councell, w^ch^ was to be done after the victorie of this defensable and stronge Towne, w^ch^ they had conquered w^th^in thirtie and eight daies: notw^th^standinge that for the

[1] *Not at once. Charles d'Estouteville was still a prisoner in* 1422. *The statement is an insertion by the Translator.*

[2] *So far from Monstrelet*, iii. 94, 95; *adopted by Stow. The Translator then follows Livius*, pp. 11, 12.

[3] house *B.*; militi cuique *Livius.*

[4] for to keepe ... Towers, *an interpolation by the Translator.*

streinght it ought to haue fearde a straighter assiege of an whole yeare. It was then thought convenient by such there whole Councell, in as much as winter approached nigh, to retorne into England. But then it was debated amongest them vppon theire passage, whether they shoulde retourne the next and surest way by water, or else they shoulde passe thorough theire enemies land by Callice. The more part condiscended to goe by lande. But the Duke of Clarence, w^th^ diuers other Lords, consideringe the greate losse of those men that they had susteyned by the death of the Flixe, that then rayned amonge them, and manie other sicke of the same, by w^ch^ infirmitie died the Earle of Stafforde,[2] the Bisshopp of Norw^ch^, the Lord Beamount, and diuers other noble men, and of the commons to the number of two thousand and aboue,[3] considered also the men they had left for the defence of Hareflete to the minishinge of theire hoast, and most especiallie considered the greate and infinit multitude of theire enemies, w^ch^ then were assembled to empech and let the Kings passage by land, whereof by theire espies they had knowledge, aduised and councelled the retorne into England by water, as for the more fare passage. To whose councell the Kinge aunswered in this manner, sayinge, 'he greatly desired to see those lands, 'whereof he ought to be Lord. "And though," saide he, "they 'prepare against vs a greate hoast of people, our trust and 'confidence is in God, that they shall not prevayle against vs, 'nor none of ours, nor we shall not suffer that they, that be 'inflate w^th^ pride, shall iniuriouslie possesse and inioy that of 'right belongeth vnto vs. And if we shoulde thus depart, 'they would say in reproof of vs and of our realme of England, 'that for feare we left our right, and were so sodainely fledd. 'Therefore we haue at this time the stomake encouraged, and 'woulde rather submitt our body to all perills, then they shoulde 'into our kingdom the least note of reproofe. Wee shall goe, to 'the pleasure of God, w^th^out preiudice or perrill. And, if they 'laboure to disturbe vs of our iourney, we shall escape there 'mallice w^th^ honnorable victorie and greate Tryumphe.' And

Enguerunt.[1]

Titus Liuius.

[1] *This reference is misplaced.*
[2] *A mistake for* Suffolk; *Stow corrects.*
[3] *The names and numbers are inserted by the Translator, from Monstrelet,* iii. 85.

foorthwth this sentence published and knowne mooued the stomaks and encouraged the harts of euerie man; nor there was not one that contraried his pleasures, least they shoulde be reprooued of the Kinge of feare and cowardnes. Then wth all speedie dilligence was prepared for this iourney by land wth companies and retinewes of men of warr. The Kinge ordayned to goe wth him three battailes and two winges, as thus of Englishmen is [accustomed,][1] of those men that were left vnto him; of whome was no plenteous number, for, as is aforesaide, he had lost manie by the infirmite of the flyxe, and manie others there were that were diseased of the same sicknes, w^{ch} were left behinde him. And also were left at Harefleet two thousand souldiars of his hoast for the defence of the same.[2] When the Kinge had thus ordered his battailes, and [3] sent his brother the Duke of Clarence into England by water wth a greate part of his army for the defence of his nauie, w^{ch} also greately diminished his owne companie. [4] After he had tarried at Harefleet xv daies after the deliueraunce of the Towne and of the Towers, he departed from thence and entred his journey towards Callice. Enguerunt.

[5] Whereof when his enemies were aduertised, and also by what waie he intended to passe, all the people of the countrie and also of the Cities and of the Townes were maruelouslie oppressed wth feare, and namelie for the takinge of Harefleet, wherfore they hasted them to defensible places, w^{ch}, in all hast to them possible, as well as they coulde, they victualled both for men and also for horsses. And other that were apt to warr tooke them to theire horsses, and assembled them together in great number, wth no small companie of footmen, and in all that they might they oppressed the Englishmen. The Kings hoast kept an easie pase, wthout makinge any hast, and when they approached the Towne of Ewe [6] there enemies, beinge there in armes and aduertised of there comminge, applied them in the fielde wth greate force and noyse, where on both parties it was foughten sore and vigorously, but the Frenchmen Titus Liuius.

[1] *om. MSS.*; ut consueverunt Anglici *Livius.*
[2] *Thus far* (*from* When the kinge was thus possessed) *is based on Livius*, pp. 11, 12, *though paraphrased by the Translator.*
[3] *Sic in MSS.*; *read* he. [4] *Monstrelet*, iii. 95.
[5] *Livius*, p. 12. [6] Eu; Eutentis *corruptly in the printed Livius.*

might not longe endure the streinght of the Englishmen, wherefore they must of force recoyle w^th^in the Towne; where they were in good sureties, for the Kinge aboad not to assiege the Towne.[1]

Enguerunt. [2]At this encounter was slaine a right valliant man at armes one the Frenchmens part, whose name was Launcellot Piers, for whose death the Frenchmen made greate dole and sorrowe. From thence the Kinge departed and came to a passage of the Riuer of Some,[3] w^ch^ the Frenchmen call Blanckehestake[4] or Blaunchtache, where longe tofore passed ouer his Auncestor and progenitor Kinge Edward the Thirde, when he obtayned the Battayle of Cresse against Phillipp of Valoys, Kinge of Fraunce. This passage at the comminge to it was fixed w^th^ sharpe stakes by there enemies of that countrie, so that they coulde not passe ouer the riuer there. And that the Frenchmen had so done to the intent that the Kinge, and his hoast shoulde seeke there passage ouer that riuer higher into Fraunce, and more neare to the heade of the same fludd. Thus the Englishmen were constrayned to seeke further, seekinge there passage vntill they came directlie to haue the Cittie of Amiens and the Castle of Corbye on there left side.[5] Then they of the saide Cittie, after they had perceaued the ensignes and banners of the Englishmen, begann w^th^ them a newe fight both one horsebacke and one foot. And the Frenchmen w^th^ greate number, w^th^ greate clamor and noyse, as the vsage is amongest them, enforced them against the English hoast, of whome they were shortlie vanquished and constrayned to returne to theire holdes. In this time it was complayned to the Kinge a certaine Englishman in the hoast had violentlie taken from a Church a pixe of syluer. Then imediatly after the Kinge commaunded his hoast to abide w^th^out moouinge vntill the sacrealedge was purged. And first was the saide pixe restored againe vnto the Church, and the trespasser was ledd bounde as a thiefe thorough the hoast, and after hanged vppon a tree,

[1] *Stow abbreviates this paragraph.*
[2] *Monstrelet*, iii. 95. *Stow omits the first sentence.*
[3] Somme.
[4] Blanche Taque; Blankhestoke *Stow.*
[5] dum Ambianensis civitas a sinistris et castellum de Corbie apparuissent *Livius. Amiens and Corbie are some distance apart; the former was passed on 15th Oct., the latter not till 17th Oct.*

that euery man might beholde him. After whose death the armye was commaunded to reprise the former journey.[1]

O Maruelous God! that of thine infinite goodnes amongest such and so manie excellent vertues hast rooted in that most vertuous Kinge so highe and perfect degree of Justice, that he as that other Josua, that for his couetous stoned to death Achan,[2] put to death this his souldier for the offence, notwithstandinge that he knewe perfectly that the time approached right nigh wherein he shoulde haue great neede of th'aide and number of men; but what[3] maruaile he, that had his confidence only in God and Justice, and not in the number of people, loued better the absence of synners then theire companie. And vndoubtedly he that shall attayne to conquests and honnour must first by th'example of this invincible conquerour conforme himself to semblable vertues. Then to returne to our former purpose. Transl.

As the Kinge iournied by certaine daies seekinge his passage ouer the riuer of Some, by some Frenchmen that were prisoners in the hoast was shewed vnto him a certaine passage ouer the same riuer not much vsed, and before that day not knowne but of fewe, by w^ch^ passage the Englishmen passed the river sure inough.[4] The next day after the feast of Saint Luke the Euangelist[5] the Kinge passed the Riuer of Some at the passage of Voyenne & Bethewe Courte,[6] w^ch^ passages were not kept by them of S^t^ Quintins as they were inioyned of the French Kinge. When the Kinge of England had thus passed the ryuer he went to lodge him at Mounche lagache,[7] from whence he aduaunced him towards the ryuer of Myramount.[8] In this meane time the French Kinge and the Duke of Guyan,[9] his sonn then Dolphine, purposinge to prouide for the resistaunce of the Englishmen, came to Roane,[10] where the one and twentith day of October was holden the Councell, w^ch^ [11] was to be done against the Kinge Titus Liuius.

[1] *The latter part of this paragraph* (*from* This passage at the comminge) *is correctly noted by Stow as derived from Livius*, p. 13.
[2] *Joshua* vii. 24, 25. [3] w^th^ *B.*
[4] *Livius*, p. 13; *the rest of the paragraph comes from Monstrelet*, iii. 97–9.
[5] October 19th. [6] Béthencourt; Vienna and Bethew court *Stow.*
[7] Monchy-Lagache. [8] Miraumont. [9] Guienne.
[10] Rouen. [11] *So MSS.*; *read* what.

of Englande. At w^ch^ Councell was present Lewis, the Kinge of Cicill,[1] the Dukes of Barry[2] and of Brittanie, the Earle of Pontieu,[3] the eldest son of the saide King Lewis, the Chauncellor of Fraunce and of Guyon,[4] and of manie other noble Councellors to the nomber of xxxv.; amongest whome, after they had deuised and reasoned many things in the presence of the King vppon this matter, at the last it was concluded by thirtie of them that the Englishmen shoulde be encountered and foughten w^th^ at the appointed day[5]; but in the ende the opinion of the greatest part was approued and holden; wherevppon in all possible hast the Kinge sent his letters to his Counstable, and to others his officers, secretlie commandinge them that, imediatly vppon the knowledge of his commaundement, they shoulde assemble them together w^th^ all the puissaunce that might be had, and that they shoulde incounter the Kinge of Englande and his people. Then imediatly was published thorough all Fraunce, that all noble men accustomed to beare arms, and that desire to require honnor, should hast them night and daie to the Counstable of Fraunce, wheresoeuer [he was].[6] And amongest all others Lewis, Duke of Guyon, then Dolphine, had greate desire to goe to that fielde; howe be it he was commaunded to the contrarie by the French Kinge, his father, and also by Lewis, his Councell, Kinge of Cicill, and of the Duke of Barry he was letted from that purpose. Then from all parts, all Lords, Knightes, and gentlemen, that alreadie were prepared and entered into theire journey for the same, hasted them towards the Counstable of Fraunce. And when the Counstable, w^th^ the more parte of the Lords and estats of the realme of Fraunce, approached the countrie of Artois, they sent the Lorde Mountganger[7] vnto the Earle of Charolois, the only sonn of the Duke of Burgundie, to certifie him of theire enterprise, and to desire him affectuouslie in the Kings name and in the Counstables, that he would vouchsafe to be at that journey. This foresaide Lord of Mountganger founde

[1] Louis of Anjou, King of Sicily.
[2] Jean, Duke of Berri. [3] Ponthieu.
[4] les chanceliers de France et d'Aquitaine *Monstrelet.*
[5] *Some words are omitted.* Et les cinq, pour plusieurs raisons, conseilloient pour le meilleur à leur avis qu'on ne les combatist point au jour nommé. *Monstrelet.*
[6] *om. MSS.* [7] le seigneur de Mongoguier *Monstrelet.*

the saide Earle at Arras, of whome he was right noblie receaued, and also of all his Lords. And after he had shewed vnto him his messuage, it was aunswered vnto him by those lords, that were chiefe councillors of the Earle, that he shoulde make such dilligence vppon the Kings request as shoulde be requisite; and w^th^ this aunswere [they were][1] contented and retourned to the Counstable. And where this Earle of Charlois desired w^th^ all his hart to be at this Journey against the Kinge of Englande, wherevnto also all his greate councillors had aduised him, yet neuerthelesse he was expresslie commaunded by John, Duke of Burgonie, his father, that in no wise he shoulde be at that Journey.[2]

This commaundment was not geuen to the saide Earle by the Duke his Father, for no fauour nor loue he had to the English partie, but only to the displeasure and variance betwixt the Dolphine and him, and the Duke of Orleaunce. Translator.

[3] And for because the saide Earle of Charolois shoulde be the further place from the battaile, his Councell caused him to remooue to Arras, where notw^th^standinge the greater parte of the people of his house, w^ch^ was aduertized of the day of the battaile appointed, departed secretlie w^th^out the saide Earles knowledge, and accompanied them with the Frenchmen against the English hoast. Enguerunt.

[4] The disease and infirmitie that raigned amongest the Englishmen, nor the smale nomber of the Kings hoast was not vnknowen to the Frenchmen; they also considered Journies that Englishmen had sustained longe by lande w^th^out anie greate corporall reffection to repose for there maintenaunce of theire streinght; it was also remembred amongest them the great, puissant, and as an infinit, multitude of themselues, against whome, as they thought, it was impossible for so little an hoast (as the Englishmen were) to resist, namelie because that all the greate princes of the Realme of Fraunce were there assembled to disturbe the kings passage; of whome the most principall were these: the Dukes of Orleaunce, of Brabaunt, of Burbony,[5] of Alannson, and of Barrowe,[6] the

[1] *om. MSS.* [2] *Monstrelet*, iii. 99. [3] *id., ib.*
[4] *Livius*, pp. 13, 14.
[5] Bourbon; Burgonie *B.*
[6] Bar; dux de Baro *Livius.*

lord Charloise labored,[1] at this time the Counstable of Fraunce, whose progenitors were liege to the Kings of Englande as of theire duchie of Guyon, the Earle of Neuers, brother to the Dukes of Burgonie and of Brabaunt, the Archebisshoppe of Sence,[2] and manie other greate Lords and men of honnor. These men, hauinge theire confidence only in theire multitude, sent three of theire harralds to the Kinge of England to giue him knowledge that he shoulde not escape w^th^out battaile; w^ch^ harralds, when they come to the Kings hoast, were first brought to the Duke of Yorke, and by him they were presented to the Kinge, before whome they fell on there knees; and, after they had obtayned lycence to saie there message, they spake in this manner: 'Right puissant Prince, greate 'and noble is thie kinglie force, that is reported of thie Ma^tie^ 'amongest other princes and lords, they heare that by thie 'streinght and prowes, thou laborest to conquer Townes, 'Citties, and Castells of the Realme of Fraunce; they heare 'also of the greate destruccion thou doest one Frenchmen; 'for w^ch^ causes, and for the performance of theire oath that 'they haue made to the Kinge, manie of our Lords be assembled to defend this Realme, the Kings right and theire owne. 'And vppon this by vs they giue thee knowledge, that, 'before thou come to Callice, they will meete thee in intent 'to fight w^th^ thee.' This victorious Kinge, after he had heard theire message, and vnderstood the effect thereof, w^th^ a couragious hart, w^th^ a constant countenaunce, w^ch^ none ire ne none displeasure mooued, no collor of his face changinge, w^th^ a moderate and softe speech, gaue vnto them this aunswere sayinge: 'At all things be don at the pleasure of God.' And when he was demaunded of the harralde, w^ch^ waie he woulde keepe, he aunswered: 'To Callice'; and there too addinge he saide: 'If our aduersaries doe attempt to disturbe vs in 'our journey, they shall not doe it w^th^out there owne greate 'preiudice and daingerous perrill, we thinke; we seeke them 'not, neither for the feare of them wee shall not moove the 'softlier, nor make the greater hast. Neuerthelesse we aduise 'them they let not our journey, nor they seeke not th'effusion

[1] *sc.* Charles d'Albret; dominus de la Bret *Livius*. [2] Sens.

'of so much Christian bloode.' The harralds contented w^th this aunswere, and rewarded w^th an hundred Crownes of French money, and lycenced to depart, retourned to there Prince, to whome they reported theire aunswere that they had heard.[1]

[2] The Kinge of Englande whome was left at Monchylagach,[3] remooued from thence and went to lodge him in a village called Forrcevile, aduauncinge his hoast towards the Riuer of Myramount;[4] and the next daye, w^ch was Wednesday,[5] they passed by the Cheve[6] and lodged them that night in diuers places. The King lodged him at Bonyors Lestauillon,[7] and the Duke of Yorke, his vnkle, captaine of the vauntgarde, lodged him at Fremouch[8] vppon the riuer of Chanche.[9] And the residue of th'englishmen and hoast were lodged in diuers other places, so that that night they were deuided into seauen or eight seuerall places or Townes. That notw^thstandinge they had no manner of displeasure of theire enemies that night; for the Frenchmen were gon to be before them in theire way towards S^t Paule,[10] and vppon the ryuer Myramount.[11] And the Thursdaie next ensewinge the Kinge remooued from Bonniers and rodd in right fayre ordinance vnto Bangay.[12] Enguerunt.

[13] And for asmuch as he was aduertised tofore of a riuer in that journey ouer w^ch they must passe by a bridge, and if peraduenture that bridge were broken by there aduersaries he coulde not haue passage w^thout his great preiudice and perrill, he sent therefore before certaine noble horsemen, w^th them he assigned certaine footmen, to defende and keepe the bridge; where, at there comminge thether, they founde many Frenchmen, that enforced them to breake the bridge, vnto whome the Englishemen gaue battaile, and after a longe and cruell fight betwext them, manie of there aduersaries were slaine, Titus Liuius.

[1] *Livius*, p. 14; *abbreviated by Stow.* [2] *Monstrelet*, iii. 100.
[3] Monchy-Lagache. [4] Miraumont. [5] 23rd October.
[6] chevaucha par emprés Lucheu *Monstrelet*; the Cheue *Stow.*
[7] Bonnières l'Escaillon.
[8] Frévent; Tremouth, *B.*; Fremont *Monstrelet.*
[9] Canche; *a blank seems to have been left in B. in the first instance.*
[10] St. Pol.
[11] la rivière d'Aujain *Monstrelet; the scribe repeated the previous passage from* and the next daye, *but afterwards erased it; in this second version he wrote,* Riuer of Arnon. *Stow omits.*
[12] Blangy. [13] *Livius*, p. 15; *om. Stow.*

many wounded, and many taken prisoners, and all the residue put to flight. They wann the bridge, and kept it from hurt. This day was the three and twenteth of Nouember,[1] vppon w^ch daie is solemnized in the Church the Commemoration of Saint Romaine the confessor.

Enguerunt.

[2] At w^ch bridge when the Duke of Yorke, Chieftaine of the first warde, had passed the water, and had ascended the mountaines, his espies [3] perceaued from all parts the Frenchmen comminge by greate multitudes of men of armes, w^ch went to lodge them in Ronsianvile,[4] and other places thereabouts, in intent to be before the Englishmen, and the next day to befight them.

Titus Liuius.

[5] When the English espies had perceaued the Frenchmen in so greate number, one of them w^th fearefull countenaunce, and sorrowfulle sighinge,[6] reported vnto the Duke of Yorke, that there were approached vnto them an innumerable multitude of there aduersaries; whereof when the Duke had true knowledge by their spies and courours, that had also seene them, he gaue to the Kinge knowledge thereof; who, w^thout feare or yre, gaue to the middle ward, whereof he was conductor, charge to abide, and geuinge spurrs to his horse he hasted to see his enemies, whome he perceaued to be an innumerable hoast. Then he returned to his fielde w^th a constant mynde, not mooued w^th feare, but as he that putteth his whole confidence in God and in Justice. After this he ordered his battailes, and distributeth to euery Captaine his number, and his order, and place of fightinge, and in what manner. He kept his hoast readie ordered in the fielde vntill night; and when the day was passed, and that no light at all was perceaued, he disposed him to get some harbour for that night, both for him and for his people, where they might have corporall refection and repose of theire bodies. And in that night, whome a terrible battell was to followe, in that region unknowen they coulde finde no place nigh vnto them, wherein

[1] xi. Kal. Novembris *Livius*, *sc.* 22nd October; *the true date was* 24th October (ix. Kal. Nov.).
[2] *Monstrelet*, iii. 100, 101; *om. Stow.*
[3] Espies *is written in a space at first left blank*; companies *H.*
[4] Ruisseauville. [5] *Livius*, p. 15; *om. Stow.*
[6] sightinge *B.*, anelito anxio *Livius.*

to be refreshed, except that diuinely there was showed vnto them a certaine white way; by the w^ch they were ledd to a certayne little village called Aigincourt,[1] where they were a little better refresshede w^th meate and drinke then they had bin in there journey before; where also the Kinge for that night tooke a little house for his lodginge. From that place where the Kinge had sett his battailes in array vntill they came vnto the Towne, by the commaundement of the Kinge, was no cry nor noyse heard of the Englishmen, as they vsed tofore, but everie man went peaceablie. And when they came to the village aforesaide, they kindled theire fyres, and ordered and made watches. In like manner also did the Frenchmen, w^ch scarslie were distant from the English the space of two hundred and fiftie spaces.[2]

[3] And the same proper Thursday towards the eueninge for certaine courses [4] Phillipp, the Earle of Neuers was made knight by the hand of Bouncicalt, the Maister [5] of Fraunce, and w^th him were made knights manie other greate Lords and gentlemen of Fraunce. This night came vnto the French hoast the Counstable of Fraunce, who lodged himselfe nigh Agincourte. Then all the Frenchmen assembled themselues together in one hoast, and lodged themselues vppon the playne fielde, every man as nigh to his owne banner as he coulde, except some people of smale estate, that lodged them in villages nigh vnto the fielde. And the Kinge of England w^th his Englishmen was lodged in a little village called Masencelles, iij. shotts of a bowe or thereaboute from the Frenchmen. Enguerunt.

Howbeit all other Authors [6] that I haue read, resite that he was lodged that night at Agincourt, but whereso he was lodged it was not greatlie materiall, in as much as all myne Authors accord in this pointe that the fielde was fought in Translator.

[1] in villam quandam *Livius*. *Stow follows the Translator, but adds* Enguerant saith Masencelles. Maisoncelles (*under a mile south of Agincourt*) *is correct.*

[2] *The scribe of Bodley* 966 *apparently intended to alter this to* paces; *but Stow has* spaces.

[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 101; *om. Stow.* [4] à aucunes courses *Monstrelet.*

[5] maréchal *Monstrelet.*

[6] *It is not clear what authors the Translator intends. Livius has* in villam quandam; *Walsingham* (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 310) in quadam villa.

a plaine adioyninge to Agincourt, and for that reason the fielde beareth the name of the Towne.

Enguerunt. [1] The Frenchmen w^th^ all theire greate Lords and Captaines fixed there banners and standards w^th^ greate joy and mirth w^th^ the banner Royall, whereof the Counstable had the conduct and charge, in the fielde by them deuised and chosen, w^ch^ was in the County of S^t^ Paule in the ground of Agincourt, by w^ch^ the day followinge the Englishmen shoulde passe to goe to Callice.

Policronicon. [2] And that night the Frenchmen made greate fyers, everie man vnder his banner; and that night the Frenchmen, fishinge before the nett, played the Englishmen at dyce, as if they had bin assured of the victory, whereby the purveyaunce of God they disappointed.

Enguerunt. [3] And although the French were in number a CI. thousand, whereof the most part had theire horsses w^th^ them there, and besides that they had manie other horsses in their charriotts, waggons, and carts, and other waggons and carriages, whereof they had greate plenty amongest them, they had fewe or none instruments of musicke to reioyce the companies w^th^; nor of all that night tofore the battaile right fewe, or in a manner none of there horses brayed or made any noyse, whereof manie men had maruile suspectinge it to prefigure some maruelous fortune to come. But the Englishmen ceased not of all the night to blowe or sound there busines, trumpets, or other musicks, whereof they had greate plenty, in so much as all the grounde about them resounded at theire noyse. The night before the fielde the Duke of Orleaunce accompanied w^th^ the Earle of Richmunde, who had the conduct of the people of the Dolphine and also of the Brittaines, assembled them to the number of two thousand basnetts of other Frenchmen w^th^ shott, and went secretlie to the lodges of Th'englishmen, w^ch^ by the good ordinaunce of the Kinge, wer all readie put in array doubtinge the invasions of theire enemies. Then began the shott one both parties, w^ch^ endured not longe, but that the Frenchmen were constrayned to w^th^drawe them to theire whole hoast. After w^ch^ enterprise the saide Duke of

[1] *Monstrelet*, iii. 101. [2] *Brut*, p. 378; *not in Policronicon.*
[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 101–3.

Orleaunce and many other noble men were made knights; and thus they passed that night [1] w^th^out doeinge any other feate of warr one either partie. Duringe this time the Duke of Brittaine, notw^th^standinge that he had sent [2] a part of his people tofore, was come to Amiens w^th^ six thousand fightinge men, in the aide of the Frenchmen, and had ioyned w^th^ them if they had tarried his comminge till the Satterday. And in like manner the Lord Longue,[3] Marshall of Fraunce,[4] accompanied w^th^ six C. men of armes, was also comminge into theire helpe, and lodged the same day of the battaile six leagues from the whole hoast; and the morninge next after he remooued passing early,[5] in trust to come to the fielde.

[6] The xxv^th^ day of October, after mattins, masses,[7] prayers and supplicacions of the Kings priests saide and done w^th^ all devotion, that most Christian Kinge of England in the morninge verie early sent forth his hoast in array. He commaunded that his horses, and all other carriages and impediments, shoulde be left in that village, where he had lodged that night, vnder the guard and keepinge of a fewe persons, and w^th^ him he tooke nothinge but mens bodies, harnes, and weapons. The order of his fielde was: his owne battaile was not distant farr from another.[8] The middle battaile, whereof the Kinge was conductor, and wherein he intended to fight, was sett in the middle of the fielde directly against the middle battaile of theire aduersaries. One the right hande or side was the first battaile, and therew^th^ the right winge. And on [9] the left side the last battaile, and the left winge. And theise battailes ioyned nigh together, and by the purveyaunce of God was proued vnto the Kinge, w^ch^ had his speciall confidence in God and in Justice, a defensible place for his hoast; for the village, wherein he was lodged that night tofore, defended his hoast from all hostile inuasions one the backe, and the fielde,

Titus Liuius.

[1] fight *B.*; pour cette nuit *Monstrelet.* [2] spent *B.*
[3] Seigneur de Longny. [4] French *B.*
[5] se partit tres matin *Monstrelet.*
[6] *Livius*, p. 16; *Stow* (*who had omitted the two previous paragraphs*) *now resumes.*
[7] mattins, masses *om. Stow*; Martins masses *H.*
[8] *A mistranslation*; non longe distabat acies una de reliquis *Livius*; *read* one *for* his owne. *Stow omits.*
[9] on *om. B.*

wherein he was, was defended one both sides w^th^ two smale riuers.[1] This Noble Kinge was armed with sure and beauteous shininge armour, and vppon his heade was a bright helmet, wherevppon was set a crowne of goulde repleate w^th^ pearles and precious stones, maruelous rich; and in his shielde he bare the Armes of Englande and of Fraunce. And thus armed, as he that feared not not to be knowne of his aduersaries, he was mounted vppon a greate and goodly horse, and after him were ledd certain noble horses w^th^ theire bridles and trappers of gouldesmithes worke, maruelouslie rich, as the manner of Kings is. And vppon them also in the same worke were beaten the Armes of Englande and of Fraunce. Thus this most victorious Kinge, prepared and disposed to battaile, encouraged his people to the fielde that approched at hande. And to one great estate[2] of his companie, w^ch^ desired to the pleasure of God that everie man of warr w^th^in England were there w^th^ them presentlie readie apparrelled for battaile, the Kinge made this aunswere: 'Trulie I woulde not that my 'companie were increased of one person more than nowe it is. 'Wee be, as to the regards of our enemies, but a verie smale 'number. But if God, of his infinit goodnes, fauour our causes 'and right (as we surelie trust) there is none of vs that may 'attribute this so greate a victorie to our owne power but only 'to the hande of God; and by that we shall the rather be 'prouoked to giue him due thanks therefore; and if per-'aduenture for our sinns we shall be giuen into the hands of 'our enemies and to the sworde, (w^ch^ God forbid) then the 'lesse our companie bee, the lesse domage and dishonnor 'shalbe to the Realme of England; or else if we were in 'greate number and shoulde then haue victorie of our 'enemies, then our mindes shoulde be prone and readie 'to pride. And then peraduenture we shoulde ascribe our 'victorie rather to our owne streinght then to the hand of God, 'and thereby wee shoulde purchase to ourselues his indignation.

[1] *This is incorrect, though adopted by Stow. Livius reads*: munitumque campum . . . duobus lateribus undique vepribus et sepibus. *The flanks of the English army were protected by the woods and enclosures of Agincourt and Tramecourt.*

[2] *Sir Walter Hungerford* (*cf. Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 47), *not the Earl of Westmorland as in Shakespeare* (*Henry V*, Act iv, sc. 3); *Westmorland was not present. Stow omits the story.*

'But be ye of good courage, and fight w^th^ all your might, and 'God and our right shall defend vs, and deliuer into our hands 'all this greate multitude of our proud enemies that yee se, or 'at the least the most part of them.' The night before this cruell battaile, by the aduise and councell (as it is saide) of[1] the Duke of Yorke, the Kinge had geuen commaundement through his hoast, that euerie man shoulde prouide him a stake sharpe at both endes, w^ch^ the Englishmen fixed in the ground before them in the fielde to defend them from the oppression of the horsemen.[2] The Frenchmen had so much there confidence in the great multitude of theire people, in theire shyninge armor and beauteous, and in there greate and mightie horses, that manie of theire greate Princes and Lords leauinge behinde them there seruants and souldiers, and namely leauinge behind them there standards and banners, and other ensignes, came towards the Englishmen in right greate hast, as if they had bin assured of victorie. [3] Amongest whome the Duke of Brabande[4], w^ch^ for hast had left behinde him his banners, tooke from a trumpet his banner of armes, and commaunded it to bee borne before him vppon a speare in steade of his banner.

[5] And when they approached the English hoast w^th^ that knightlie dilligence that they might, they briefelie ordered theire battaile in this manner. Enguerunt. Earely in the morninge before the battaile, w^ch^ was the ffryday the xxv^th^ daye of October in the yeare of our Lord God 1415, the Counstable of Fraunce and other wise men of the Kings Councell of Fraunce ordered of theire companie three battailes, whereof the Auantgard contayned vj. thousand Bacints,[6] foure M. Archers, and xv. C. Arbalesters, of whome was the conductor the foresaide Counstable, and w^th^ him the Duke[s] of Orleaunce, and of Burbon, the Earles of Ewe, and of Richmount, and the Marchall Bonycault,[7] the M^r^ of Arbalesters, the Lorde of Damphire[8] admirall of Fraunce, and diuers other great captaines and men

[1] by *B.*
[2] *This statement is an insertion of the Translator, which was adopted by Stow. The use of the stakes is mentioned by many authorities; the reference to the Duke of York comes from the Brut*, pp. 378, 554–5, *ed. Brie.*
[3] *Stow stops here and does not resume till* p. 58 *below.*
[4] Brabant.
[5] *Monstrelet*, iii. 103, 104.
[6] huit mille bacinetz *Monstrelet.*
[7] Boucicault.
[8] Dampierre.

of honnour. In the second Battell were appointed as many men of Armes, Archers and Arbalesters as were in the first, of w^ch were conductors the Dukes of Barry and Alanson,[1] the Earles of Neuers, of Vaundemont, of Blamount, of Salms, of Grauntyree, and of Rousye.[2] And in theire rereward were all the residue of men of armes, archers, and arbalesters, the Earle of Marle, of Damputine, and of Faukenburge,[3] and diuers other greate estates and noble captaines. They ordayned also two winges of horsemen to disseuer and breake the array of the English hoast, wherein were xxiiij. C. horsemen w^th such captaines as were thought most convenient for the same. And the rather to encourage the harte of the younge lords and gentlemen the Counstable of Fraunce the day and night before this fielde had made aboue vj. hundred knights of the fielde and of his hoast.

Titus Liuius.

[4] And when they approached, the Frenchmen exceeded so farr the Englishemen in number that of them was xxxj. mens thicknes in euerie part of the fielde; nor the fielde, where they fought, suffered not to receaue so greate multitude of people as they were; and the English hoast was scarsely iiij^or mens thicknes.

Enguerunt.

[5] At his departure from Harfleet he had in his hoast two thousand men of armes, xiij. thousand archers, and other men of warr a greate number.

Translator.

But of this number Enguerunt putteth no certainetie. Howe well the English Cronicle[6] reciteth that he had at this fielde but x. thousand men of warr in his hoast; and that seemeth me maruelous that he hauinge xxiij. thousand men at his commaundement besides all them that weare deade of the flix, and besides the garrison he left at Harefleet, woulde take so smale an hoast w^th him, consideringe that he had knowledge tofore his departure from Harefleete of the preparacion that the French made against him. But let euerie man giue credence to whether part he will, and I will returne to my

[1] Bar *and* Alençon.
[2] Vaudemont, Blamont, Salms, Grand-Pré, *and* Roussy.
[3] Dammartin *and* Fauquembergue.
[4] *Livius*, p. 17.
[5] *Monstrelet*, iii. 95.
[6] *The Brut*, p. 379, *has* vij. M.; *another version* (p. 554) *has* viij. M.

matter. Howbeit Enguerunt[1] resiteth that the greater part of the English archers were w^th^out harnes.

[2] The Frenchmen had also in his hoast manie gunns and engines of diuers quantities and fashions, wherew^th^ they shott and cast stones amonge the English hoast. These two hoasts were distant one from thother scarselie three shotts of a bowe. Titus Liuius.

The Frenchmen abode in theire array w^th^out moouinge vntill ix. or x. a clocke of the daie, beinge as ascertained that the Englishmen shoulde not escape theire hands, seinge howe they exceed the English hoast in number.[3] And when they had stoode longe thus the one against th'other, w^th^out doeinge anie thinge, sauinge that the horsemen of the French hoast rann dyuers courses vppon the Englishmen, by whose archers they were at all times driuen to theire hoast, and that a greate parte of the short daie[4] was thus passed, the Kinge councelled w^th^ his wise men what was to be done therevppon: amongest whome it was considered that longe abidinge in the[5] realme of his æduersaries, where they had no comfort, was vnto them perilous and shoulde turne to theire greate dainger, and namely because they had scarcetie of victualls, and that the Frenchmen beinge in theire owne country, where they had no enemies, and also they shoulde daylie increase in number and in ſtreinght. Wherefore it was concluded by them to goe to there enemies, in as much as they came not to them. But before the Kinge remooued his hoast, vppon suretie safelie to returne, came vnto the Kinge three noble men of Fraunce, amonge whome was the Lord Helley,[6] w^ch^ before time had bine taken of the English souldiars, and was brought as a prisoner into England, from whence by breakinge of prison he secretlie escaped and returned into Fraunce.[7] This Lord spake vnto the Kinge in this manner: 'Noble Kinge, it hath 'often bin shewed vnto me, and also to others of our realme, 'that I shoulde fly from you shamefully and otherwise then 'a knight shoulde doe, w^ch^ report I ame heare readie to proue

[1] *Monstrelet*, iii. 106. [2] *Livius*, pp. 17–20.
[3] *This sentence is inserted by the Translator from Monstrelet*, iii. 104.
[4] *The scribe first wrote* the daie (beinge short). [5] his *B.*
[6] Jacques de Helley, *cf.* 44*th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, p. 584.
[7] qui captus olim a stipendiariis Anglicis ex Anglia postea fugerat *Livius.*

'vntrue. And if there be any man of your hoast hardy to 'reproch me thereof, lett him prepare him to a single battaile. 'And I shall proue it vppon him before thie Ma^tie^, that 'wrongefullie that report hath bine imagined and furnished of 'me.' To whome the Kinge made this aunswere: 'No 'battaile shalbe heere foughten at this time for this cause, 'another time shalbe thereto more convenient then this. 'Therefore returne you and call foorth your company[1] to the 'fielde, before the night approach. And we trust in God, that 'like as you hauinge no regard to the order of honnor of knight- 10 'hood, escaped from vs, so this [day][2] ye shall either be taken 'and brought to vs againe, or else by the sworde you shall 'fynish your life.' 'Noble Kinge,' saide the Lorde, 'for you I 'shall not warne my companie, nor they shall in nothinge 'attempt your commaundement. Both we and you[3] w^th^ your 'hoast be w^th^in the hande of the most Christian Kinge of 'Fraunce, Charles, to whose commaundement we shall obey 'and not to yours.[4] And we that be his liegis shall come to 'battaile at our owne pleasure and not at yours.' 'Depart 'you from hence,' saide the Kinge, 'to your hoast, and we 20 'beleeue you shall not returne w^th^ so full speed, but we shalbe 'theire shortly after you.' Then these Lords departed. [5] And the Kinge foorthw^th^ aduaunced his banners and standards to the French hoast. And he in his person, w^th^ his[6] battaile in the same order wherein they stoode[7] followinge, exhorted and encouraged euerie man to battaile, notw^th^standinge he went to inuade his enemies; yet [he][8] kept his accustomed order: that is, that the first battaile went before, the second battaile followed, and the third came imediatlie after. He com- maunded his priestes and chaplaines[9] to abide in prayers and 30 diuine supplicacions; and his Harrolds bearinge theire coate armors to attaine[10] to theire offices. Then euery Englishman fell prostrate to the ground, and committinge themselues to

[1] tuosque verbis nostris . . . evoca *Livius*.
[2] *om. MSS.*; hodie *Livius*. [3] your *B*.
[4] Sedemus omnes et tu cum exercitu quoque tuo in terris supremi Gallorum principis regis Karoli *Livius*.
[5] *Stow now resumes*. [6] this *B*.; suis *Livius*.
[7] he stoode *MSS.*; steterant *Livius*. [8] *om. MSS*.
[9] captaines *MSS.*; capellanisque *Livius*; *Stow omits* and chaplaines.
[10] attend *Stow*; ad eorum officium attentissimis, *Livius*.

God, euerie one of them tooke in his mouth a little peece of earth, in remembraunce of that they were mortall and earth, or else in remembraunce of the wholie Communion.[1] Thus all the carriages and bagages left behinde, only charged w^th^ theire harnes, weapons, and stalfes[2] they marched toward there enemies w^th^ greate bruite and noyse. Then they began to sounde theire trumpets and theire tabors,[3] w^ch^ greatelie encouraged the hart of euerie man. There enemies seeinge them approach aduaunced themselues also, and mett w^th^ them in the fielde, betwext whome was began a maruelous fierce and cruell battell. The battells of the Englishmen were as longe as the fielde, wherein they fought, woulde suffer; w^ch^ was greately to there aduantage, for by that there enemies were letted to come vppon them at the sides and backe of the hoast.[4] The Frenchmen had ordayned there battailes w^th^ two sharpe frontes like vnto two hornes, w^ch^ allwaies backe ward was brodar;[5] and these sharpe battailes sett vppon the Kings middleward, in intent to runn thorough the Kings[6] fielde.[7] The order and array of the English had bin sore troubled of the horsemen of Fraunce, if they had not bin slaine, beaten, and wounded by the bows of Englande,[8] and by the helpe of the stakes that the Englishmen had fixed tofore them in the grounde, whereby the horsemen were constrained to returne, or else they must runn vppon the stakes, where manie of them were ouerthrowne and wounded, and manie both men and horses slayne. The battaile and fight increased maruelouslie; euerie man inforced him to be a victor by the space of three howers, by w^ch^ time w^th^out delay or respite endured this mortall battaile; no man approached the place of the battell, but either he must slay or else he was slayne. There no man intendede to prowes, but to victorie; no man was taken

[1] *From* in remembraunce *is an insertion by the Translator; Stow adopts, but reads*: mortall, and made of earth, as also in remembrance of the holy communion.

[2] stakes *H., and Stow.*

[3] They sounded their trumpets and strooke up their drums *Stow*; *Livius has simply* tubicinum clangor maximus . . . excitat.

[4] w^ch^ was . . . hoast, *an insertion of the Translator, adopted by Stow.*

[5] broader and broader *Stow.* [6] whole *Stow.*

[7–8] but the Frenchmen were slaine and wounded by the English archers *Stow; the text above reproduces Livius more closely.*

prisoner, but an innumerable were slayne. And when it came to the middle of the fielde the Englishmen were more encouraged to slaye there enemies then tofore, as to whome was no trust of life but only in victorie. They slewe them that came first vnto them, vppon whose deade bodies [an][1] innumerable companie were [throwne and][1] slayne, and that the victorie surelie remayned to the Englishmen. Thus after a longe and cruell battaile by the demerits of theire greate pride there approached no man [of the French][2] to battaile, but only to death: of whom, after that an innumerable companie were slayne, and that the victorie surelie remayned to the Englishmen, they spared to slaye and tooke prisoners of the Frenchmen both Princes, Lords, and gentlemen [in great number].[3] In this mortall battaile the noble Kinge neuer spared his body from labour, from perrills, nor from fightinge; nor he neuer fayled his men for no dainger of death, nor for no paine; but he fought w^th^ his aduersaries w^th^ an ardent hart as a famyshed[4] lyon for his pray; in his helmet and in the residewe of his armour he receaued many strookes. In this fielde as the puissant Duke Humphrie, Duke of Gloucester, the Kings brother, fought w^th^ greate courage and force, he was sore wounded in the hammes w^th^ a [sworde, and][5] ouerthrowne, [in so much as][6] he laye as halfe deade in the field, his heade towards the Englishmen, and his feet towards his enemies, vppon whome the Kinge hauinge brotherly loue and compassion bestrid him: and w^th^ most stronge battell and laboure, and not w^th^out his owne great perill, the brother defended and succored the brother from there enemies, and made the Duke to be borne out of the fielde amongst the hands of his owne men. At the last the victorie obtayned, and the greate hoast of the Frenchmen slayne, taken, wounded

[1] *om. MSS.; Stow reads*: no man was taken prisoner, but an innumerable number were slaine, vppon whose dead bodies they that followed were throwne and slaine. *The* Translator *does not seem to have fully revised his text, which is an ornate expansion of the very terse original in Livius*, pp. 19, 20.
[2] *om. MSS.*; *restored from Stow*; nullus e Gallis *Livius*.
[3] *om. MSS.*; *restored from Stow.*
[4] invictus *or* jubatus *in the printed Livius*; famished *Stow*.
[5] *Blank in MSS.; restored from Stow.*
[6] *om. MSS.; restored from Stow.*

and vanquished, foorth w^th^ another hoast of the Frenchmen, no lesse then the first, supposinge the Englishmen nowe to be wearied by theire longe trauell and fight, disposed them to recommence and begin againe the battaile anewe; when the Englishmen (w^ch^ had more prisoners then themselues were in number) sawe this newe fielde assembled to giue them battaile againe, fearinge least in this newe fielde they shoulde fight both with theire prisoners, and theire enemies, they put to death manie of there saide enemies prisoners both Noble men and richmen.

[1] Amongest whome the Duke of Brabande, who at that fielde was taken prisoner, was slaine. Policronicon.

[2] Then this noble prudent Kinge, consideringe and seinge the resemblaunce[3] of his aduersaries, sent his Herraulds vnto them commaundinge either foorth w^th^ to come to battaile, or else imediatly to depart; and if they delayed to depart, or else if they came to battaile, both those of theires that then were prisoners, and also all they that shoulde after be taken, w^th^out mercie or redemption shoulde be put to death. All this he gaue in messuage to his Heraulds, w^ch^ messuage when the Frenchmen had hearde fearinge the streinght of the Englishmen, and also the death both of themselues, and also of those prisoners that were taken before one there partie, w^th^ heauines and w^th^ shame they departed foorthw^th^. Then the Kinge, assured of this greate victorie, gaue the greatest thanks and laude to God that might be. And because that day the Church solemnized the commemoration of S^t^ Chrispine and S^t^ Chrispiane,[4] (by whose suffrages it seemed him that this great victorie was geuen him of God) he ordayned duringe his life the commemoracion of them to be saide daily in Masse he heard.[5] In this cruell battell were slaine on the French part the noble dukes of Alannson and Barrie,[6] and of Brabant, and the Lord Helly, who, as is aforesaide, came tofore the battaile to purge himself before the Kinge of his escape out of Englande. Titus Liuius.

[1] *Policronicon*, p. 227. [2] *Livius*, pp. 20, 21. [3] resemble *Stow*.
[4] SS. Crispin and Crispinian.
[5] *B. is punctuated* Masse. He heard in, &c. *Livius reads*: in missa quam audiret eorundem beatorum commemoratio fieret. Hoc in praelio &c. *Stow omits the sentence.* [6] Alençon *and* Bar.

Enguer- [1]The Lorde Labret,[2] chiefe Counstable of Fraunce, the Archbisshopp of Saunce,[3] eight Earles, and one hundred and more of Barrons, xv. C. knights, and aboue tenn thousand of all estates, whereof were not scarslie xv. C. persons that were souldiars, seruants, or varletts, besides this great number. And all the rest were gentlemen of Coate Armor.

Titus Liuius. [4]At this battaile besides this greate murther were taken prisoners of the Frenchmen the Duke of Orleaunce, and of Brabant,[5] Arthur, brother to the Duke of Brittaine,[6] the Earle

Enguer- unt. of Vandosme, the Earle of Ewe, the Earle of Richmount,[7] and S^r^ Bannicault,[8] marshall of Fraunce, who was brought prisoner into England and theire dyed.

Titus Liuius. [9]And many other men were taken prisoners vnto the number of xv. C. persons, all knights and gentlemen. And of the English partie were slayne the Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Suffolke, and to the number of an hundred persons in the vauntgarde.

Enguer- unt. [10]And of all estats as well of gentlemen as of commons on the English partie were not founde deade aboue sixe hundred in the fielde.

Titus Liuius. [11]When the day began to declyne and the night approach, by the aduise of his Councell that victorious Kinge retourned w^th^ his hoast into that village, wherein they harbored the night before the fielde, where he founde his horses and other baggage and carriages that he left there tofore the fielde, stollen and carryed away by robbers of the Frenchmen.

Enguer- unt. [12]Where amongest manie other jewells of greate price was stollen away a sworde of greate vallewe, adorned w^th^ goulde and precious stones, w^ch^ after was geuen to Phillipp, Earle of Charoloyse, sonn and heire to Burgoyne.

Titus Liuius. [13]The same daye of the fielde at night, when the Kinge sat at his refection in the aforesaide village, he was serued at his boord of these greate Lords and Princes that were taken in

[1] *Monstrelet*, iii. 112–19.
[2] Charles d'Albret.
[3] Sens.
[4] *Livius*, p. 21.
[5] *A mistake for* Bourbon.
[6] *sc.* Arthur of Brittany.
[7] *Monstrelet*, iii. 120.
[8] Boucicault.
[9] *Livius*, p. 21; *Stow inserts another list from the Liber Metricus of Elmham* (*Memorials of Henry VI*, p. 123).
[10] *Monstrelet*, iii. 110.
[11] *Livius*, p. 21.
[12] *Monstrelet*, iii. 110.
[13] *Livius*, p. 21.

the fielde. That night the Kinge appointed good and sure watches thoroughout his hoast for feare of suddaine inuasions.[1] But the Frenchmen were vtterly deuided and gone, w^th^out makinge or intendinge any newe busines; whereby the Englishmen were suffered in peace to take there rest that night. And the day next ensewinge the Kinge w^th^ his people entered his journey towards Callis; and as they passed thorough the fielde where they had foughten the day before, they founde all the dead bodies of the men dispoyled as well of there harnes as of there array by th'inhabitaunts of the countrie both men and weomen. Notw^th^standinge, the bodies that might be knowne for Englishmen that were of any reputacion, the Kinge caused to be assembled and enterred accordinge to there estate.[2] And so contynewinge his journey the Kinge came to his Castell of Guynes, and from thence he went to his Towne of Callis, w^th^ all his hoast and his prisoners, where he was receaued of his liegemen w^th^ greate joy and w^th^ all due honnor. And after that his hoast was somethinge refreshed w^th^ meate, drinke & sleepe, the Kinge councelled w^th^ his councellors if he should nowe retourne into Fraunce and pursue his enterprise begun, or else returne w^th^ his hoast into England and refresh his people. Amongest whome it was considered that the number of his people was right smale, and of them that were left many were troubled w^th^ the disease of the fluxe, and manie so grieued of those woundes that they had receaued at the fielde. They considered also that longe abidinge at Callis shoulde cause penury of victualles amongest his hoast. And on the other partie in there owne countrie the people shoulde at there ease haue refresshed them, and cure them of theire diseases and wounds. They also considered that the time hitherto had not bin vnfortunate to them: but that w^th^ theire honnour they might returne w^th^ theire gaine that they had conquered and gotten. They trusted also that the aide of God was not w^th^drawen from them, but that to his pleasure the Kinge shoulde right well obtaine his desire in time to come. For w^ch^ consideracion the

[1] *These two sentences are an insertion.*

[2] As well . . . there estate *an interpolation by the Translator, but adopted by Stow.*

minds of all his Councellors were condiscended and agreed vppon there retourne into England, thereby to reioyce the harts of the people, where also they might refresh there bodies, and recouer themselues of there diseases and wounds. Then w^th^ all dilligence the nauie was prepared for there returne. And by the Kings commaundement the Lords and greate estats of the prisonners of Fraunce vnto a greate number were brought into that shipp wherein the King was, and [1] determined to passe the seas.[2]

Enguerunt. [3] At this passage the sea was maruelous boysterous and roughe, in so much as two of the English shipps were perished in the floudes.

Titus Liuius. [4] By reason whereof the French prisoners were so incombred and vexed that this day of there passage seemed them as bitter and tirrible, as that daye wherein they were taken at Agincourt; nor I coulde not maruaile inoughe [5] howe the Kinge shoulde haue so greate strenghth, so easelie to resist and indure the rage and boysterous of the sea, w^th^out accombrance and disease of his stomacke, for vndoubtedly his stomake was as good and as whole vppon the sea as when he was vppon the lande. When the Kinge had passed the sea, and was come to arriue and take land at Douer, innumerable people of religion, of priests, and noble men, and [6] of the commons came runninge to meet the Kinge in euerie way; and so greate was the loue they had to the Kinge, and so much the desire of his returne, that a right greate number of them went into the water vppon there feet vntill they came vnto the Kings shipps, purposinge to beare him to the lande in their armes. When the Kinge was arriued, he aboade [7] at Douer by certaine daies to refresh and rest his Lords and prisoners after his troublous passage, and from thence he

[1] and *om. Stow.*

[2] *This passage is a free expansion of Livius; Stow adopts it with some slight variation.*

[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 125. [4] *Livius*, p. 22.

[5] Nec mirari satis poterant *Livius; the Translator expands the rest of the sentence freely; Stow reads* they coulde not maruel, *but otherwise follows the Translator.*

[6] and *om. B.*; nobiles et ignobiles *Livius.*

[7] he aboade *om. B.*; Mansit hic aliquot dies *Livius; Stow reads*: when he was arriued on the 23 day of Nouember, he abode at Douer by certaine dayes.

departed takinge his journey towards the Cittie of London; and of the cittizens whereof were made greater feasts and greater appeales in honnor of the Kinge then of any other of the commons, as they that were of greater substaunce and riches then the inhabitants of any other towne[1] or Cittie of the Realme. The Mayor of the Cittie and Aldermen w^th^ all [the people][2] of the same went out of the Cittie vnto the Kings meetinge. And the gates and streets of the Cittie were garnished and apparrelled w^th^ precious clothes of Arras, contayninge the Victories, Tryumphes, and Princely Acts of the Kinge of Englande his progenitors,[3] w^ch^ was done to the order that the Kinge might evedentlie see, what remembraunce his people woulde leaue to there posterities and successors of this his greate victorie and tryumphe. The Cunditts thorough all the Cittie runn no other but good and sweet wynes, and that aboundantly. There was also made in the streets small towers and turretts, and many stages adorned and couered w^th^ rich and precious cloathes, and vppon the hight of them satt smale children apparrelled in the semblance of Angels, w^th^ sweet toned voyces, w^th^ singings, praysings, and songs and laude. But that victorious and goodly Kinge suffered not those honnours to be referred vnto him, but to the laude and honnour of God; neither, as is vsed amongest them that bene elect in pride, he shewed not to the people his helmett, wherevppon his Crowne of goulde was broken and depeased[4] in the fielde by the vyolence of the enemie, and greate strokes that he there receaued, nor his other armour that in that cruell battell was so sore torne and broken. But as the faithfull and constant Champion of God, that w^th^ no blasts of wynde is mooued from his former virtues, he eschewed all occasions of vaine glory, and refused the vaine praysings of the people.[5] After this feast and tryumphe he aboade certen dayes at London; and after he visited certen places of his Realme to see and further the equall ministracion of

[1] towne *om. B.; the last part of the sentence is an addition by the Translator; Stow omits the whole sentence.*

[2] *om. MSS.*: et omni populo *Livius*; Aldermen and crafts *Stow*.

[3] praedecessorum regum Angliae *Livius*. [4] deposed *Stow*.

[5] *This sentence is an interpolation by the Translator; Stow adopts it in an abbreviated form. But from this point he makes no use either of Livius or the Translator till* p. 76.

Justice. In w^ch places he was receaued w^th greate honnor and joy. In the meane time the victorious Emperour of Roome, Sigismundus, hearinge the discention and mortall warr betwext these two Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and seakinge the reformacion thereof, sent his Ambassadors tofore to both Realmes. And after he came in his owne person into Fraunce, where he was receaued w^th all due honnour; and there amongest the greate rulers and princes of the Realme he mooued for a peace to be made betwext them and the Kinge of England. Wherevppon, after manie aduertisements and exhortacions geuen to them by the Emperor, the Frenchmen condiscended to send w^th the Emperor theire[1] orators into England, of whome the Archbisshoppe of Rheynes[2] was deputed as chiefe and principall. Then this noble Emperor, accompanied of those Ambassadors of Fraunce, departed from Parris, and tooke journey towards England untill he came to Beauvais, where he abode and kept the solemnitie of Easter.

Enguerunt.

[3]And from thence after Easter he reprised his Journey begann; this Emperor rodd all armed sauinge his helmet hauinge a cappe of Monnabayne[4] hanginge at the arsone[5] of his saddle, and aboue his armor he was clothed w^th a rich huke[6] wherein was a plaine crosse tofore and behinde of the culler of redd,[7] wherevppon was written in French this poseye, *O what God is mercifull*[8]; and in like manner were the most part of his companie apparrelled and armed, and mounted vppon greate light horses.

Titus Liuius. Regni 4. 1416.

[9]In the beginninge of the fourth yeare of the raigne of this most victorious Kinge of Englande, after the Kinge was aduertised of the Emperor's comminge, he sent to Callis, where the Emperour shoulde enter the sea, six Princes and greate Lordes, and there to meete and to receaue the Emperor, and

[1] the *B.* [2] Rheims; Rhegues *B.*; Remensis *Livius.*
[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 136, 137; *whence also comes the last sentence of the previous paragraph.*
[4] Monnabayne *om. B.*; un chapeau de Montauban *Monstrelet.*
[5] l'arçon de sa selle (*saddle-bow*).
[6] huke *om. B.*; une noire heucque *Monstrelet.*
[7] cendre (*ash-coloured*) *Monstrelet.*
[8] O que Dieu tout puissant est misericors! *Monstrelet.*
[9] *Livius*, p. 23.

to feaste and to lodge him there w^th^ much honnor and magnificence due to so greate a Prince; w^ch^ Lordes, and w^th^ them the Earle of Warwicke, Captaine of Callis, endeauoringe them to doe all the pleasure they coulde, not onely to the Emperor but also to the least of the companie. The Emperor was accompanied of the Duke of Brye, the Duke of Millane, the greate Earle of Hungarie,[1] and manie other greate and noble Princes of estates, and of other people to the nomber of a thousand horsses, w^ch^ all was maruelously feasted at Callis, at the only cost of the Kinge of Englande, by whose Commaundement for the Emperor's passage was sent to Callis thirtie[2] greate shipps. Then the Emperor w^th^ all his companie assended the sea. And in briefe time w^th^out any disease or trouble they arriued prosperously at Douer, where they were receaued of the Duke of Glocester and other greate Lordes and states of Englande.[3]

But at the proachinge first to the lande and tofore they arriued (as I haue heard the tofore rehersed The Honnorable Earle of Ormonde saye that he hearde of credible reporte) the Duke of Glowcester, and all the other estats of England that were present, went into the water against the Emperor, w^th^ their swordes drawen in there handes, and by the mouth of the saide Duke they saide vnto him: That if they intended to enter the lande as the Kings friends, and as a mediator to intreate for the peace, he shoulde be suffered to arryue, and if he woulde enter as an Emperor, as into a Realme as vnder his Empire, or any thinge of his Imperiall power therein to commaunde, they were ready to resist his entrie in the Kings name. And this was thus deuised for sauinge of the Kings Imperiall Maiestie, w^ch^ is an Emperor w^th^ in his Realme. And when the Emperor had aunswered that he came as the Kings friend, as for a mediator of peace, and not as an Emperor of this Realme: then the Duke w^th^ all his Lordes went out of the water and

Translator. Verba Comitis Ormound.

[1] *Livius has a blank for* of Millane; *Hearne in a note quotes the above from* Libri Anglici. *The three lords were Louis, Duke of Brieg, Giancarlo Visconti, and Nicholas de Gara* 'Hungarie magnus comes Palatinus'. *Cf. Chronicles of London*, pp. 124, 306.

[2] trecentae *Livius.*

[3] a regiae stirpis Anglicis Principibus et aliis regni primoribus suscipiuntur *Livius.*

receaued the Emperor w^th^ the most honnor he coulde, and that might he deuise.[1]

Titus Liuius.

[2]After the Emperor had a fewe daies sojournied at Douer, he departed thence, and entred his journey towards London. In w^ch^ journey Lords, knights and gentlemen daily came into there meetinge. And the 7^th^ day of Maye the Mayor of London, the Aldermen and commons in good array mett w^th^ the Emperor at the Blacke heath, from whence they conueyed him vnto the Suberbs of London, where that most noble kinge Henrie the Fifthe in royall apparrell accompanied w^th^ his bretheren the Dukes of Clarence and of Bedforde,[3] and other greate princes and lords of his blood royall receaved the Emperor in the most honnorable manner that in tofore time had not bine vsed and seene. At w^ch^ meetinge betwext the Emperor and the Kinge were vsed goodly manners and due salutacions, and like manner was[4] done betwext the other great Princes and Lords on both sides. Then they came in company together into the Cittie, wherein was so greate concourse of people, w^ch^ were assembled to se this strainge Kinge, that w^th^ right greate labour skarsely might be made way for these noble Princes thorough the streets. In this manner they rodd thorough the Cittie vnto Powles Church, where they offered. And from thence they went to Westminster to the Kinges Pallace, where if anie thinge coulde be thought necessarie for the feastinge of so honnorable a Prince, it was prepared to this strainge Kinge in the best manner. After in fewe dayes of repose this Emperor Sigismonde entered communicacion touchinge this Peace, wherevppon the Kinge tooke deliberacion w^th^ his Councell. And after the aduise taken in eschewinge so manie discrimes[5] and harmes, as commeth of battaile, he made this offer to the French Legats. That if they would deliuer vnto him such his iust inhabitants as were Kinge Edward the Thirdes, w^th^ that he had conquered w^th^ so greate perrill and dainger, he woulde then leaue his warr and assure them of peace. But this offer the Frenchmen refused;

[1] *Holinshed*, iii. 85. *See Introduction*, p. xxxiii.
[2] *Livius*, pp. 23–8.
[3] Clarenciae, Bedfordiae et Gloucestriae *Livius*.
[4] was not *B*. *The clause does not appear in Livius.*
[5] discrimina belli *Livius*.

sayinge: though that hitherto all things had fortuned to the Kings pleasure, yet in time comminge he must submitt himself to the fortunes that shall fall, and in one short hower he shalbe in dainger to loose all that he hath gotten before w^th^ so greate losse, laboure, and payne. And thus w^th^ obstinat mynds, the peace vnassured, the French Legats returned into there country. At whose departure the Emperor and the Kinge conversed together w^th^ greate familiaritie and loue. In so much that the Emperor desired to be admitted in the order of the Garter, whose request was accomplished and he admitted a brother of the order. Whilest these things were thus done in England, the Frenchmen, not a little impatient at the losse and shame that they late had sustayned, in purpose thereof to be reuenged, assembled them a greate number to assiege Harefleet, of w^ch^ companie the Earle of Arminake,[1] Connstable of Fraunce, was chieftaine. They first inclosed the Towne by land from all issues on that partie, and yet not therew^th^ contented they hyred for there money greate carricks of Gene to enclose the entrye of the ryuer of Seene, w^ch^ is the mouth of the hauen of Harefleet. And thus in short time they inclosed the Towne one all parties, as well by water as by land. So that to the Englishmen were left no issue out of the Towne. Then the Earle of Dorset, captaine of the Towne, sent knowledge of this assiege and of theire perrill, and also of theire skarcitie of meate and drinke; whereof when the Kinge was ascertained he prepared a greate Nauie of Shipps furnished w^th^ men of warr, as well for the seas as for the lande, and was determined to goe in his owne person to dissolue the siege. But the Emperor discouncelled him from that, sayinge that the Kinge, in whome the common wealth resteth, ought not so lightlie to submitt himself to euerie perrill; and thereto he added sayinge, that the assiege might as well be dissolued of some of his princes by his commaundment as by himself. The Kinge, willinge to obey the councell of the Emperor, constituted leader of that Nauie John his brother, Duke of Bedforde, and gaue him in charge, first to dissolue the siege vppon the sea.[2] When this noble Prince had assended the

[1] Bernard, Count of Armagnac.
[2] ad maritimam obsidionem solvendam *Livius*.

sea w^th^ his armye, a contrarious wynde arose against them, wherew^th^ the nauie was so dryuen that it coulde not enter the haven that the Duke desired, but was constrained to keepe his course nowe heare nowe there, abydinge th' ende of this tempest. Thus sometimes towards Byan,[1] and sometimes towards Cambry,[2] this nauy was driuen w^th^ the winds; but at the last day before the vigill of the Assumption of our Ladie, when the tempest was ceased, and the seas appeased, they approached the entry of Seene[3] in the beginninge of the night. Then the Duke, perceauinge where he was, commaunded lights to be fixed in his shipps[4] thereby to gather all the residue of his nauy unto his. And there he determined to abide that night, where all his whole nauy assembled together before day. By some of them it was shewed to the Duke that diuers of there enemies shipps were not farr from them; w^ch^ thinge knowen, the Duke called to councell all the Captaines of the nauy, where they accorded that the next morninge, when the Dukes shipp halled vpp her sayle, all the remnaunt shoulde disanker and followe him. In the morninge, as the day appeared, either navy perceaued[5] other; and, when the Englishmen had, theire ankers drawen, mooued towards there enemies, in like manner there enemies hasted towards them. The English shipps were soone fastened to the greate carricks, w^ch^ exceeded so much the English shipps in height, that from the decks of theire carricks,[6] where they stoode to fight, they might scarsely reach downewards the highest of the English shipps w^th^ the longest spare they hadd. They fought cruellie one both parties, but at the last the Englishmen w^th^ manly streinght and w^th^out feare assended the highe carricks of Gene, w^ch^ they coulde not doe w^th^out effusion of much blood; where the battaile was more cruell then before, but at the last by there maruelous prowes the English tooke 4 of theire greatest carricks w^th^ manie other shipps, and the residue they put to flight. This victorie obtayned, and of theire aduersaries manie slayne,

[1] *An error*; Beauchiefe (*sc.* Beachy Head) *Livius.*
[2] The Camber, *near Rye*; Caumbre *Livius.* [3] Seine.
[4] in praetoria navi (*the flagship*) *Livius.*
[5] receaued *B.*; classis a classe conspiciuntur ambae *Livius.*
[6] *The Genoese carracks in the French service*; in summis Genuensium ratibus *Livius.*

manie sore wounded, and manie drowned in the sea: and the carricke shipps w^th^ many prisoners taken, and the residue discouraged and fledd, amongest whome the greatest carricke of them all escaped, but shee was in that battell so sore brused and beaten w^th^ gunns in her sides, that shee escaped not the perrills of the sea, but foorthw^th^ after her escape shee perished: and this mortall battaile, which indured cruell and bitter by the space of five howers, ended and done, the Duke entered the mouth of the Seene to revictuall the Towne as was his charge, where in the entrie of the haven they founde certaine gallies of Italye,[1] that were left there to encounter the Englishmen. Against whome the Duke sent certaine barges[2] well manned, w^ch^ incountered the gallies, and put them to flight. Then the Duke came to the Towne of Harefleete w^th^out any other resistance or impediment, where he was receaued w^th^ greate joye of the Earle of Dorset, the Dukes vnkell, and of all the souldiers of Harefleet. And after a daie of repose the Duke intended to have geuen battaile w^th^ the Frenchmen that besieged the Towne by lande; but as soone as the knowledge of the discomfiture of there people by the sea came to theire eares, and that the Duke w^th^ his companie had entered the Towne, they gaue themselues to discourage, and left the assiege w^th^out battaile[3]; w^ch^ thinge knowne, the Duke, after he had victualled the Towne, entered againe his shipp, and w^th^ those carrick shipps and men that were taken he passed the sea and arriued in England. When the Kinge sawe his brother returne w^th^ so greate victorie, and knowen tofore what sore battaile he had foughten, and howe in everie thinge he had done, gaue greate thanks to the Immortall God. And because this victorie was obtayned vppon the vigill of the Assumption of our Ladie, the Kinge commaunded that euerie daye shoulde be sungen in his Chappell an anthem and a collett of the Assumption of our Ladie, w^ch^ was continuallie vsed duringe his life. When the Kinge of the Romaines, Sigismounde, had evidentlie perceaued that the Frenchmen neither by the justice of God executed

[1] triremes quas Ytali galeas dicunt *Livius.*
[2] quas nominant Anglici Barges *Livius.*
[3] *This sentence is an insertion by the Translator; perhaps from a copy of the Brut, cf. Chron. Davies,* p. 43; *Livius' own narrative seems to be derived from a similar source.*

vppon them, neither by his mediation woulde not condiscend to anie reasonable peace, consideringe that he tofore had knowen them elate in like pride against his Empire, and also against other Realmes, to the intent that they shoulde knowe that theire obstinacie and pride was pleasinge neither to God nor to man, considered also the iust true tytle of the Kinge of Englande, he delibered to take such part and appointment w^th^ the Kinge, as shoulde be acceptable, both to him and to all the Realmes of England,[1] and assured the Kinge of faithfull and perpetuall allyance and freindlie confederacion, as well of the oppressinge of the pride of the Frenchmen as for the moouinge and reforminge of the Sisme,[2] w^ch^ then was in the Church.[3] And this confederacion and allyance was put in writinge in the termes as followeth: 'Sigismund, by the grace 'of God Kinge of Romaines, and Henrie, by the same grace 'Kinge of Englande & Fraunce, w^th^ the heirs and successors 'of both the Empires and Realmes,[4] from henceforth for the 'realme of either of them, of theire lands, dominions, and sub-'iects, allwaies shalbe fellows and confederates against the 'Kings, Lords, Princes, and noble men, and against all that 'shalbe enemies to either Realme of the saide two Kinges; 'neither of them shalbe in councell wherein the other may 'loose any part of his streinght, right or Empire, member or 'bloode. Yf either of them shall knowe the death, preiudice, 'or harme of th'other to be attempted, sought or conspired of 'any man, w^th^ all his power he shall lett it; or if he cannot 'lett it, as shortlie as shalbe possible he shall giue knowledge 'to the other; euerie of them shall support and maintayne the 'other when time thereto is requisite, shalbe w^th^out couller, 'fraude, or preiudice of the raigne, lands, possessions, honnor, 'or subiects of the other;[5] or he cannot declyne his subiects 'from bearinge arms against the other his confederat freinde, 'he shall imediatly giue warninge thereof to the other Kinge.

[1] foederaque utrique regi gratissima *Livius*. [2] *sc.* Schism.
[3] *The scribe first wrote* in Christes, *as in H.*; ecclesiae schisma quod tunc trium pastorum erat *Livius*.
[4] successoribus utriusque imperii *Livius*.
[5] Regnorum, imperii, terrarum honores et commoda subditorum alter alterius rex cum usus venerit procurato. Neuter horum regum in alterum alteriusve terras et subditos arma inferto, nec a subditis suis inferri finito *Livius*.

'And then both the Kings together shall rise in armes, and 'subdewe those obstinate rebells. All trauellinge men and 'marchaunts of both Realmes of whatsoeuer Art, Scyence, 'misterie, or occupation they be, may surelie inhabite, labour, 'jurney, chevish, and buy and sell in all the lands, possessions, 'and cuntries of the other, payinge there fraight and carriage 'and observinge the customes of the comptrollers wherein they 'shalbe; so neither of them shall suffer the traytors and 'banished men of the other knowingly to abide or dwell w^th^in 'there Realme or lands; or from henceforth neither of these 'Realmes shall enter into warr w^th^ none other Realme or 'country that now is not[1] there enemie w^th^out the assent and 'councell of the other, except it be for the defence of there 'Realmes, or else for the resistinge of iniuries. It shalbe law-'ful for Kinge Henrie to make warr vppon the Frenchmen for 'to conquer his Realme of Fraunce. And also it shalbe law-'full for Sigismund,[2] Kinge of Romaines, and Henrie, Kinge 'of England and of Fraunce, and also they shalbe holden in-'violate, vncorrupt and vnbroken by your heires and successors. 'And these things were approued, confirmed, and established 'the 5 of October, the 4 yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henrie 'the Fifthe.'

In this time the Duke of Hollande (to whome it greatly belongeth to seeke and procure the peace betwext England,[3] because his daughter was wedded to the Dolphine) arriued in England to see the two Kings and there greate magnificence, whereof the fame was sprunge maruelouslie honnorable in euerie country, and also to doe his part to cease the mortall warr that raigned betwext the two Realmes.

[4] Who at his cominge was right honnorablie receaued of the Kinge of England, and of his people, and was lodged at the Bisshopp of Ely his place in Holborne. Polycronicon.

[5] At the laboure of this Duke and at the instance of the Enguerunt.

[1] not *om. B.*; alium qui modo non sit hostis *Livius.*

[2] *The scribe has omitted several lines corresponding to*: Sigismundo pro juribus imperii per Gallos injuste detentis arma cum placuerit movere liceto. Quae foedera non minus apud heredes et successores utriusque Sigismundi et Henrici *Livius.*

[3] maxime de pace intererat *Livius.*

[4] *Policronicon*, p. 228; *Brut*, p. 381.

[5] *Monstrelet*, iii. 147.

Emperor was sent into Fraunce the Bisshopp of Norwᶜʰ and Sʳ Thomas Epingham,[1] a knight of greate renowne, accompanied wᵗʰ 80 horsses,[2] in Ambassage vnto the French Kings Councell, (wᶜʰ then was at Beauvois) to treate for the peace betweene the two realmes; but because the Counstable of Fraunce[3] had then laide siege tofore Harefleet, from whence he woulde not depart, the intreatie tooke no effecte, neither for peace, neither for randsome of the French prisoners that were in Englande. And the Ambassadors of England retourned into England voyde of there requests.

Titus Liuius.

[4] Briefelie after whose retourne the two Kings, Sigismund and Henrie the Fifte, sent a certen Earle of the Romaines, and the Earle of Warwicke and diuers other greate and wise men in Ambassage to the Towne of Lile, to John, the Duke of Burgondie, who them receaued right honnorablie. And notwᵗʰstandinge the Lords and estats of his house were apparrelled in mourninge garments for the late death of the Duke of Barry,[5] vncle to the saide Duke of Burgony, yet he commaunded greate feaste, playes, and disports to be made to these Lords and to theire companie. And after the denouncinge of there message, at the last they accorded that the Duke of Burgonie, at the next October, wᶜʰ was in the fift yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henrie of England,[6] shoulde come to Callis to the two Kings of Romaines and of England, there amongest them to conclude betwext them a Peace; wᶜʰ couenaunts thus made, the noble Lords that were sent in Ambassage returned to the two Kings there masters. Shortlie after whose returne the Kinge of Romaines purveyeth for his returne into his countrie. And Kinge Henrie, wᶜʰ studied wᵗʰ all dilligence to pursue this intreatise wᵗʰ the Duke of Burgonie, (a navy first prepared for there conveyaunce) went in person wᵗʰ the Emperour to Callis, accompanied wᵗʰ many great Princes, Lords, and estats of his Realme; whether also John, Duke of Burgonie came vnto them. But first he was assured both by oath and also by pledges of the Englishmen safely to returne.

[1] Erpingham. [2] soixante-dix chevaucheurs *Monstrelet.*
[3] Bernard, Count of Armagnac, *who had succeeded Charles d'Albret.*
[4] *Liuius*, p. 28. [5] Berry.
[6] wᶜʰ . . . England *inserted by the Translator.*

[1] The Duke of Glocester was sent to S[t] Meros [2] in hostage for the Duke of Burgonie, where he was receaued right honnorablie of the Earle Carolois,[3] eldest sonn to the Duke of Burgoyne. Enguerunt.

[4] The Duke of Burgoyne w[th] all his companie of Lords, Gentlemen, servaunts, and horsses were receaued and kepte at the proper costs of Kinge Henrie. And first tofore the comminge of this Duke the Kinge had caused to be proclaymed that no man shoulde be so hardy [5] to sell any thinge to the Burgonians, w[ch] proceeded of the kings greate magnificence and bountie to the intent that they shoulde haue what they woulde desire w[th]out payinge any money therefore.[6] But what communicacion or conference and allyance was betwext England and Burgonye: the Duke aunswered that he had not brought w[th] him certaine things necessary for to conclude the peace; wherefore the Kinge of England, w[ch] perceaued this excuse only to be made for delaye, and that the Duke intendinge to perseuer in his former purpose, commaunded him and all his companie to depart.[7] At that time many greate carricks of theire enemies presented themselues before the Hauen of Callis, peraduenture against theire owne wills by constraint of the greate tempest that there was of the sea; against whome issued the English shipps, and though they were not thereto commaunded, yet w[th] a manly courage they fell vppon them, and at the last they were departed by the greate wynds and outragious fludds of the sea; whereby they were compelled to desist of ther battaile. And so the English shipps reentred the hauen, and there enemies continued there course vppon the sea, w[th]out the losse of any shipps one either partie. After this Kinge Henry, entred to returne into England, gaue many greate and rich guiftes to the Emperor and to all the estats of his companye. And levinge the Emperor at Callis he returned into England in right greate perrill for the troublous stormes and tempests that then were Titus Liuius.

[1] *Monstrelet*, iii. 162. [2] Saint Omer.
[3] Philippe, Comte de Charolois. [4] *Livius*, p. 29.
[5] hardly *B.* [6] w[ch] . . . therefore *an insertion by the Translator.*
[7] *The Translator expands Livius*: Et quoniam non ea quae ad concludendam pacem secum adduxerunt, sed in elatione sua perseverabant, abire jussi sunt.

on the sea. For feare of w^ch^ tempest the Emperor woulde not aduenture to take the sea. And therefore he sent to the Duke of Burgonie to haue assurance of sure passage thorough Flaunders, and the foure members thereof; whose requeste the Duke denyed not, but he aunswered that it was not his honnour to desire assurance for his passage thorough the 4 members of Flaunders, for because that the Flemings were obedient to himselfe; and so it is not the Emperors honnour to demaunde suretie for his passage of his own subiects. But whilst this was in doeinge the tempest ceased, and the Emperor (as for the more suretie) entred the sea and went into Germanie, his owne country, by sea, and left the journey by land. [1] And the Kinge of England, immediately after his returne from Callis, sent his Legate to Constance, where was kept the generall councell of the vniuersall Catholique Church, w^ch^ w^th^ all other Legatts, the Emperor there beinge present, studied and labored for the vnitie and peace of our holy mother the Church, and to reforme the Schisme that then was of three Popes. W^ch^ councell tooke effect in this manner. They first deposed all the Popes by whome the Schisme was contynued, and then they w^th^ the Cardinalls elect into the Papacie the Cardinall of Clumne [2] borne at Rome, and was named the ffift Martine, whose Arms were a Piller of Siluer crowned w^th^ a crowne of golde, in the fielde of Guiles.[3]

Enguerunt.

[4] At this councell by the assent of all nations there present it was authorised and ordayned, that England shoulde obtaine the name of the deuocion of the Church of Roome, and shoulde be saide one of the fyue Nacions that owe devocion; [5] w^ch^ thinge vntill that time men of other Nacions for envye had delayed and letted.

Titus Liuius.

[6] The Kinge pretendinge to pursue his warr in Fraunce made greate preparations for the contynuance of the same; and that yeare, w^ch^ was the 4^th^ yeare of his raigne he helde his Parliament w^th^ the greate estates and nobles of his realme;

Policronicon.

Here Stow begins again to use the Translator.

[2] *sc.* Odo de Colonna; of the Columpne *H.*; Columpne *Stow*.

[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 189. [4] *Livius*, p. 30.

[5] ut Anglia nationis nomen obtineret, et una diceretur ex quinque quae devotionem praestant Romano pontifici *Livius*; should obtaine the name of a nation, and should be saide *Stow*. [6] *Policronicon*, p. 228.

wherein for the maintenaunce of his saide warr were graunted vnto him a whole Fifteene and Disme.

[1] The same yeare also an Earle of Scotland, called Douglas, came into England and promised friendshipp and amytie w^th^ the Kinge, and the same he assured both by oath and by his writinge sealed w^th^ his seale. He returned to the Frenchmen at the battaile that was foughten by the Duke of Bedforde at Vernuell.[2] In the fift yeare of his raigne in the time of winter this most victorious Kinge purveyed his battaile. He prepared his nauy, his ordynaunce, victualls for his people, and generally all other things necessary and behovefull for warr.[3] He assembled thoroughe all England such men, aswell Dukes,[4] Earles, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen and Commons, as he knewe were good both for Warr and for Peace. And this done, vppon S^t^ Marks day the Evangelist[5] he tooke his jurney towards Southampton in purpose when the wynde and sea were fauorable to goe into Fraunce. Titus Liuius.

[6] But before his departure he rode throughe the Cittie of London vntill he came vnto S^t^ Paules Church, where he discended from his horse and offered. And in like manner he made his oblations at S^t^ Georges church in Southwarke; and in all this way he gaue his farewell to euery man, prayinge them all to pray to God for him. Polycronicon.

[7] In this meantime the Frenchmen, not content w^th^ there owne strenght, made couenaunt w^th^ the Cittie of Gene,[8] a Cittie of Italy. In w^ch^ couenaunt the Italyans were bounde, at a certen price for euerie carrick lymited for the Frenchmens monny, to prepare and furnish w^th^ armed men, as many of there greatest carricks as the Frenchmen shoulde desire. And so prepared they shoulde send them in the ayde of the Frenchmen against the Englishmen. Then imediatly manie Titus Liuius.

[1] *Livius*, p. 30.

[2] Postea tamen contra jusjurandum perjurus ad hostes Gallos profectus, post mortem Henrici regis in proelio quod gestum est apud Vermilam pugnans ab Anglis interficitur *Livius*; yet notwithstanding he after turned *Stow. Livius follows the Brut in Chron. Davies*, p. 44.

[3] *Livius has simply*: dilectum validissimum habet, classem parat.

[4] dilectis ex omni Anglia Principibus *Livius*; all England *om. B.; the Translator expands from the Brut.*

[5] *The date* (25*th April*) *is inserted by the Translator from the Brut*, p. 382.

[6] *Brut*, p. 382; *not given in Policronicon.*

[7] *Livius*, pp. 30–3.

[8] Genoa.

of the carricks of Gene were apparrelled for battaile, amongest whome were manie of maruelous greatnes, and [1] greater then euer were seene in those parts before this time. These carricks sayled into Fraunce, into the mouth of the Seene, where they straightly assieged Harefleet by water. Whereof when the Kinge of England was aduertized, he delibered to goe vnto them in his owne person to remooue them from this assiege. But from that purpose he was letted by the aduise of his Councell. Wherefore he gaue that journey to the right puissant John, Earle of Huntingdon, who, when he was entered into his shipp, and all his companie into there navy, departed from the lande. To whome the wynde was so fauorable that in short time they were brought vnto there enemies; w^ch^, after they had perceaued the Englishmen, deferred not the battaile, but hasted them to the battaile to the English navy. Then either assayled [2] other by greate vigore and strenght. The shipps were fastened together with chaynes and cables. They fought [3] together the more part of a sommers day, either partie sore desiringe to have victorie of his aduersarie.[4] But at the last the Italians, oppressed by the streinght of the Englishmen, were vtterly discomfited and ouerthrowne; theire greatest carricks were taken and also the greatest part of them: and the residewe of the Genowaies seeinge there fellows taken and slayne, were strocken w^th^ feare; and there chaynes & cables broken and hewen in sunder, they departed there carricks from the English shipps, and escaped by the helpe of the wynde and storme. When this victory was obtayned, and many of the greatest carricks taken, w^th^ innumerable prisoners, and the residewe chased and put to flight, this noble Earle returned to Hampton; of whose returne when the Kinge was aduertised, he gaue laude and praisinge for this victory vnto God. And for the same he enhaunced the Earle his Nephew [5] w^th^ honnor and also w^th^ rewards.[6] After the joyous returne of

[1] yea *Stow*. [2] their enemies, who assailed *Stow*.
[3] Their shipps were grapled, and fought *Stow*.
[4] either . . . aduersarie *om. Stow; this is an insertion of the Translator.*
[5] sobrinum ejus *Livius*; Nephew *Stow*. *Huntingdon was son of the King's aunt Elizabeth.*
[6] *Stow inserts a supplementary note from the Chronicle of London*, p. 106 (*ed. Nicolas and Tyrrel*).

this victorious Earle to Hampton, the 28th day of July, this puissant Kinge (a Navy for there conueyaunce first prepared, as is aforesaide, to the number of xv. C. shipps) assembled his army to passe the sea. Of his owne companie and purueyaunce, xvj. thousand foure hundred armed men.[1] And besides that number came to him to Douer, lords and gentlemen w^th^ theire retayners, at the day and place for the same prefixed. First the Duke of Clarence w^th^ 240 speares and 620[2] archers in his retynewe. And the Duke of Glocester w^th^ 100 speares and 300 archers. And 6 Earles w^th^ 470 speares, and 1420[3] archers, whose names seriouslie hereafter ensewe. First the Earle of Marche 100 speares and 400[4] archers. The Earle of Warwicke 100 speares and 300 archers. The Earle of Huntingdon 40 speares and 120 archers. The Earle of Suffolke 30 speares and 90 archers. And the Earle of Salisburie 100 speares and 300 archers.[5] And after these Earles followed 13 other estates of the Realme, w^th^ 506 speares and 1580 archers. That is to saie: the Lord Burgauenie 50 speares and 150[6] archers; the Lord Matrauers 40 speares and 120 archers; the Lord Fitzhughe 60 speares and 180 archers; the Lord Clifforde 50 speares and 150 archers; the Lord Gray 60 speares and 180 archers; the Lord Willoughbie 40 speares and 120 archers; the Lord Talbott 100 speares and 300 archers; the Lorde Edwarde Courtey[7] 20[8] speares and 90 archers; the Lord Bourchier 30 speares and 90 archers; the Lord Rosse 10 speares and 30 archers; the Lord Louell 6 speares and 18 archers; the Lord Ferris of Chartley[9] 20 speares and 60 archers; and the Lord Harrington 30 speares and 90 archers. After these came 87[10] knights right noble and vallyant men, and in theire retinewe 900 speares

[1] *The Translator (followed by Stow) is in error; Livius clearly means this for the number of the whole army, and not for the King's personal contingent alone.*

[2] 720 *Stow; the MSS. of Livius vary between* sexcentis *and* septengentis.

[3] mille quadringentis et decem *Livius*; 1410 *Stow.*

[4] 300 *Stow*; trecentos *Livius.*

[5] *The Translator omits* Comes Marescallus lanceas centum, sagittarios trecentos. *So also does Stow.*

[6] centum et viginti *Livius.* [7] Courtney. [8] triginta *Livius.*

[9] Esmon Ferrers de Chartley *Livius.*

[10] septem et septuaginta, *or* septem et octoginta *variously in Livius.*

and 2852 [archers],[1] whose names my Author rehearsed not. Of carpenters and other artificers the Kinge had w^th^ him in his wages to the nomber of 1000, whose ministeries or occupacions it were superfluous here to write. But vndoubtedly there was no manner of occupacion or crafte absent from that hoast, that coulde be thought necessarie for them. Neither Myners to vndermyne the grounde, Carpenters to make and rayse engins, laborers to delve the grounde, and to lade ditches, Masons to hewe stones for shott to breake walls, to subuert strong holdes, nor gunners to shutt gunnes; nor briefely to accompt there fayled them no manner of occupacion or scyence that coulde be thought necesssarie for them. And all the residue of the hoast were the King's seruaunts and other singuler horsemen and archers, or at the least w^th^ fewe seruaunts, hyred by the Kinge, so manie as performed the first number of 15400.[2] And so the Kings whole hoast besides laborers and artificers amounted to the number of 25527 fightinge men of whome euery fourth man was a horseman.[3] And these things thus ordered, and the Nauy, for the conveyaunce readie apparrelled, the Kinge entered his shipp, w^ch^ was royallie and sumptuouslie adorned; the sayle thereof was sylke of purple couller, right bounteouslie embrodered w^th^ both the Arms of Englande and of Fraunce. And this shipp they called the Kings chamber; he had also a second carricke of like apparrell, w^ch^ by the Kings commaundment they called the Kings Hall. And these too he ordered to be principall and the chiefetaines of all the residue of his nauy.

Poli-cronicon. [4] But tofore he departed the Realme he constituted John,

[1] *It will be observed that the figures do not exactly add up. The total of the separate items is on the best figures* 2281 spears and 6860 archers; *the total for the thirteen lords should apparently be* 526 and 1578. *Three archers to every spear was a fixed proportion, which was not in fact always observed. The Muster-Rolls in the Record Office give about* 1800 spears and 6000 archers. *But neither the Rolls nor the list above is complete. Sir J. Ramsay* (*Lancaster and York*, i. 251) *from a comparison suggests a total of* 2300 and 7400. *The total of* 16400 *may represent the whole host, both soldiers and followers.*

[2] sexdecim (*or* quindecim *in other copies*) millium quadringentorum *Livius.*

[3] *This sentence is an addition by the Translator, who is followed by Stow. The number* 25527 *is apparently arrived at by adding the separate contingents on to the original* 16400.

[4] *Not in Policronicon; Brut*, p. 382.

Duke of Bedford, his brother, to be protector of his Realme of England in his absence.

Because his journey shoulde not be knowne to his enemies nor where he intended to arive,[1] the Kinge kept his purpose secret from his companie, except that to such persons as was his pleasure he disclosed his councell. And for that cause he had commaunded that all the rest of his nauy should followe those two shipps Royall, whithersoeuer they woulde sayle.[2] To all the nauy it pleased God to send a good and plesaunt winde, vntill the first day of August they all arryued in Normandy, not farr from the Castell of Tonque.[3] Then the watches and guardes of the sea banks, and of the havens of that cuntry, at the first perceauinge so greate an navye, whose streinght they knewe themselues not able to resist, left there stations and fledd to saue theire lyues. The Kinge w^th^ all his companie arriued and tooke land, where at his first landinge he dubbed 48 knights[4] of his hoast, such as were able and worthie of that order; and that done he ordered to be proclaymed all those ordynaunces and edicts that were published tofore the besieginge of Harefleet, and also diuers other such as he thought to be good and proffitable for his hoast. Not farr from the sea banke where he landed were smale and ruynate howses, wherein the Kinge w^th^ diuers other his most familliar and his householde seruants were lodged for that night. And the residue of his hoast were lodged in there tents & pavillions. And when all the shipps were vnladen and discharged of theire carriage he sent againe all the navy into England, except such shipps as were deputed for the carriage of gunns and other engines and habiliments of warr.[5]

[6] And except also such shipps as the Kinge had assigned to the Earle of Marche readily manned and apparrelled to kepe the sea peaceably and quiett. Policronicon.

[1] *The Translator puts this clause at the end of the previous paragraph.*

[2] *These two sentences are a very free rendering of Livius*, p. 33; *Stow omits.*

[3] Touques, *near Trouville.*

[4] nobiles quosdam milites *Livius; the number comes from Brut*, p. 382.

[5] *Stow abbreviates this paragraph.*

[6] *Policronicon*, p. 228; *Brut*, p. 383.

Titus Liuius.

[1] And that done the Kinge sent noble men of armes and horsebacke to espie the situacion and streinght of the castell of Humplewe [2], and of other Castells, Townes and Citties nighe vnto those parts; w^ch^ gentlemen, w^th^ manie prisoners and greate prayes of beastes, returned to the hoast in euerie thinge satisfied the Kings mynde, for as much as was there charge. There enemies assured of there comminge in so greate a number were all stricken w^th^ feare, everie man of them for himselfe conveyed there stufe, there beasts, theire graynes, and all other goods into Citties, Castells, and Townes, not knowinge whome the Kinge woulde first assiege. Then they prepared there holds, they strenghtened there Townes and walls w^th^ stones and gunns and other things necessarie. They purveyed them of all things that they thought proffitable for there defence, and for the resistance of there enemies. The Kinge tooke his enterprise to assiege the Towne of Tonque, whose Castell was maruelouslie defensible w^th^ stronge walls and deepe ditches. The assieginge whereof was geuen to the Duke of Glocester, the puissant and manly chieftayne of the Kings Auantgarde, who constrained the Frenchmen so sore, what w^th^ gunns and other engins of warr, that w^th^in shortt time, that is to saye the 4^th^ day of this assiege, [4] and the nynth day of August, they promised to yealde the Castell to the Duke. Howbeit they that were deputed [5] to keepe the Castell sent first two gentlemen to runne [6] to the Dolphine to giue him knowledge, that if the Castell were not shortlie rescued from this greate perrill they coulde no longer keepe it vnder the obeysaunce of the Kinge of Fraunce; w^ch^ messengers as soone as they hadd saide the message were immeadiatly commaunded to be hanged.

Enguerunt.[3]

Titus Liuius.

Polycronicon.

[7] And when the day that they had appointed w^th^ the Duke was come, and that they hard no worde of succour, they yealded the Castell to the Kinge, whereof he made one

[1] *Livius*, p. 34. [2] Honfleur.
[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 189; *but the Translator really follows Livius.*
[4] *Livius*, p. 34.
[5] departed *B.*; qui ad ipsius castelli praesidium locati fuerant *Livius. Stow abbreviates.*
[6] *Probably we should read* Rone (*Rouen*); Rothomagum *Livius.*
[7] *Policronicon*, p. 228; *Brut*, p. 383.

S^r John Kikle[1] captaine; and the Earle of Salisburie conductor of the Kings second battaile, whilest the Duke of Glocester assieged the Castell of Tonque, wann the Castell of Aumbeliers[2], and put out the Frenchmen thereof, w^ch Castell so taken w^th all that belonged thereto the Kinge gaue to the same Earle. And thus this noble Earle was the first that had any lands geuen vnto him of the Kings liberality in this Conquest.[3] The Earl Marshall was sent to the Castell of Louers, w^ch w^thin short time he subdued. And after it was geuen him by the Kinge.[4]

[5] This Invincible Kinge nothinge doubtinge the recouerie of his right, neuerthelesse he cleerelie perceaued what preiudice it was to the Realme of Fraunce thus to dispoyle the Townes and Cities that were taken: and when battells were, what cruell death and murther it caused to the people. Therefore to eschewe all such inconveniences and inhauncments he sent his Herralds vnto the Dolphine (as to whome first and most speciallie belongeth the defence of the Realme, inasmuch as the Kinge his father, who at that time was lymited, was vnable to the charge of the realme)[6] requyringe him vnto an vniuersall peace for all the Realme, wherevnto the Kinge woulde also agree on this manner: that if the Dolphine woulde assure him to fight against him, body against body, without the ayde of both ther peoples, then whether of them obtayned the victorie shoulde for euer inioy the land and people of Fraunce. But the Dolphine, fearinge to submitt himselfe to so greate a perrill, refused the peace vnder that condicion. Then the Kinge, seeinge his request refused and that the winter approched at hand, councelled w^th his nobles and wise men what was to be done, that his hoast in most ease might surelie passe the winter, and that they shoulde not haue ouermuch scarcetie of victuall. They all aduized the Kinge to assiege Caen, w^ch seemeth to be a large Towne well garnished w^th houses and aboundant of all things necessarie; nor, as it them seemed, it was not so defensible that it might

[1] Kyghley *H.*; Kykeley *Stow.* [2] Aubvilliers.
[3] *Livius*, p. 34. [4] *Brut*, p. 383. [5] *Livius*, pp. 34–7.
[6] *For this clause Livius has simply*: ut ad eum cui patriae defensio primum spectare videbatur; *B. reads* were lymited.

longe resist the Kings power. And that taken the other stronge hollds, Citties, and Townes of lesse fame shoulde the rather yealde them to the Kinge, to the lesse laboure and perrill of the Kings people: w^ch sentence approued, the Kinge w^th all his army, keepinge that same order that they were accustomed, tooke his journey towards Cane; but because he might not leade so great an army by the right ways ouer so many riuers and brooks, as were in the way, w^thout there perrill and dainger, therefore he went about the furder way for his people. And when he approached so nighe as that the aduersaries perceaued that he intended to laye his siege to Caene,[1] the Kinge sent tofore him the noble Duke of Clarence, his brother, w^th 1000 horsemen to keepe the subberbes of the Towne, that th'inhabitants of the Towne shoulde not burne them, nor distroy them; for he suspected that th'inhabitants knowinge his enterprise would burne them knowinge it, least his hoast shoulde not haue their lodginge in them. And so they had vndoubtedly done, had not the sooner comminge of the Duke letted them of their purpose. Then the Englishmen, w^th water, and greate streinght and force of armes, quenched and put out the fyre that the Frenchmen had alreadie lighted in the coueringe and thatch of the houses. The Englishmen also slewe many of there enemies that laboured to destroy those eddifices. Nighe adioyninge to the walls of this Towne was a stronge Abbey, dedicated to the honnor of S^t Stephen, w^ch had highe and defensable walls, and deepe ditches; the Frenchmen, fearinge least this Abbey and stronge Tower thereof shoulde be occupied of the Englishmen to the dainger of the Towne, vndermyned the pillers of the saide Tower and payned them to ouerthrowe it to the grounde, and had brought the same nighe to rewyne, when the said noble Duke by knightlie deeds of armes obtayned and wann that place of the enemies. Then he caused the pillers thereof to be repayred and replenished w^th earth, where it was myned. And in this manner he saued it from distruction.[2] Not farr from this place was another Monasterie of religious weomen, right

[1] *This is a gloss of the Translator; from Livius it is clear that Clarence was sent ahead from Touques.*

[2] *Stow, who much abbreviates this paragraph, inserts here from Walsingham (Historia Anglicana,* ii. 322-3) *the positions of the*

stronge and defensable, w^ch^ also that worthie Duke had receaued vnder his tuition w^th^ greate strenght and battaile. After the Kinge, w^th^ all his hoast came tofore the Towne of Cane, vnto the walls thereof he approached as nighe and as soone as he conveniently might. This situacion of this Towne is a playne; it is streinghtned w^th^ broade and deepe ditches, and highe and stronge walls; and in the middell of this Towne runneth a passinge and swifte floode or ryuer. And at the Kings comminge it was right well garnished and purveyed of noble men of warr, of harnes, of ordinaunce, and of victualls, and generallie of all things that coulde be thought necessarie for the defence of the Towne. The most puissant and victorious Kinge, wisely beholdinge the streinght and situacion of this place, delibered where he shoulde sett his siege, most lightlie to confounde there enemies. And though that part of the Towne, w^ch^ he first had chosen, was lest defensible and most sure for him from the dainger of his enemies, yet hauinge his only confidence in God and in Justice, perceauinge the strongest and most defensable Tower of the Towne, he lodged himself directly against the Tower, wherein was the largest issue for there enemies vppon the Englishmen.[1] Thus he left that place, wherein was least dainger, and lodged him in the most daingerous place that he coulde finde: but in that remoouinge he hadd a daingerous passage ouer a ryver tofore he coulde come to that place that he desired. The Duke of Clarence laye also vppon that same side of the River, but farr distant from the English hoast. The Duke of Glocester was commaunded by the Kinge to lye where all the gunns and ordinance laye, whereof the Kinge had made him ruler and ouerseer. The Kinge occupied all his studie to make a plaine and large way into the Towne for his people: and when he perceaued the strongest and most defensible place of the Towne, there he sett the greatest resistance, the greatest streinght, and the most dilligent and best watch. Howbeit there was no place wherein the Towne was not oppressed by the siege, or kept straight by

English captains, together with the story of how a monk of St. Stephen's betrayed the Abbey to Clarence, to save it from destruction.

[1] ad insultus Gallorum patentior *Livius.*

watches. When the inhabitants of the Towne perceaued themselues thus assieged, inclosed, and invironed [1] w^th^ so greate strenghts, they gaue not themselues to ease or idlenes, but to right greate labours for the defence of the Towne and of themselves, as neede was to doe. They made greate walls and bullwarks of the earth and claye tofore there stone walls to resist the violence of the English gunns. They ordayned gunns, slyngs, baselicts [2], and other engins of warr for the battaile and defence in places most fitt and convenient for the same. They established watches, wards, and manie other deuises that they beleeued to be profitable for the suertie of the Towne and of themselues. Amongest the English ordynaunce were diuers gunns and other engins, that were conueyed thether by shipps, of maruelous greate quantitie: w^ch^ for there greatenes, when they were shott, not only depeced the walls by there strokes, but also by there only vyolence of there incredible noyse or sounde they brake the windowes of the Temple of S^t^ Stephens, w^ch^ we saide before to be preserued by the Duke of Clarence; notw^th^standinge that that Abbey was farr from thence, where those gunns laye. And w^th^in the Towne also manie olde edifices, not by the stroke onelie but by violent noyse of the gunns, were ouerthrowne and cast to the grounde.

Cronica Anglicana.

[3] Whilst the Kinge lay at this siege, the Earle of Marche, whome the Kinge had left to keepe the sea, leauinge the sea peaceable and w^th^out enemies, landed at Hogges in Normandie, and from thence he tooke his journey towards the Kinge. In w^ch^ journey one Anthonie Pigge [4] accompanied him and guided him ouer a perrillous ryver, wherein both he and all his companie were greately endaingered of theire lyves. And so the same Earle came vnto the Kinge then beinge at his siege tofore Cane, where at his comminge he was briefelie appointed to his lodginge in the fielde. [5] Neither this thinge me seemed to be kept in scilence, that vppon one part of the

[1] evyroned *B.* [2] balistae *Livius.*

[3] *Brut*, p. 85; *where, however, the incident is put after the siege of Caen.*

[4] *A pig dedicated to St. Anthony, and so tame that it would follow people in the hope of food.*

[5] *The Translator resumes from Livius*, p. 37.

Towne the walls were right feeble. At w^ch^ place the Englishmen right shortly and w^th^out greate labour and dainger might haue had a large entry into the Towne. But a certen Church was nighe adioyninge to that wall, w^ch^, if the wall had been ouerthrowne, must of necessity haue fallen therewith. And therefore this most Christian Kinge spared the wall in the fauour of the Church, as the most devout Prince to God and to the Church. The inhabitauntes, seeinge ther walls contynuallie beaten and cast downe by shott of gunns, repayred them w^th^ all dilligence w^th^ tymber and w^th^ earth. They also shott many gunns amongest the English tents. Of neither part they spared to labour.[1] The Englishmen made mynes vnder the walls of the Towne, the sooner to bring them to rewyne; against whome the Frenchmen countermined; and in those mynes they often fought right cruelly, and in the best manner for the oppression of there enemies they coulde devise. The Kinge laboured to haue way to his enemies: he goeth about; he visiteth the stations, the wards, and the watches of his hoast; he left nothinge vndone that might be thought proffitable to attaine to his purpose. And when he first perceaued, where by gunns and other engins he might haue a sufficient entrie into the Towne for his people: yet he pondered and considered, what murther of people chaunceth by invasion of walls and Townes,[2] w^ch^ if it may skarcely be measured and forborne of the Kinge, w^ch^ is ruler[3] of the hoast, yet woulde be much more difficult to be measured by the men of arms and souldiers. Wherefore the Kinge intendinge in time to put thereto a remedy, sent his harralds to the captaines and rulers of the Towne to aduertise and exhort them to deliuer the Towne to the Kinge, and rather to aduenture the Kings mercie then to abide the dainger of the invasion of the Towne. But these captaines trustinge in theire labours and trauailes, wherein they were maruelous dilligent, aunswered that they were defensible and stronge enoughe to resist all manner of assaults of the Englishmen. And therefore they commaunded them to returne, and answere vnto the Kinge, that they woulde

[1] Ab obsidentibus nec obsessis labori nulli parcitur *Livius*.

[2] quid juris [*or* viris] muralis pugna terrarum et oppugnatio solita sit afferre *Livius*.

[3] ruled *B.*; temperare vix ab Imperatore . . . potest *Livius*.

holde the Towne vnder the obedyence of him, whome they had holden it tofore. Wch aunswere when it was shewed to the Kinge, imediatly he contryued and compassed in his mynde, by what meanes he might most easelie subdewe both the Towne and the people to his Empire.[1] And when he had ynough delibered wth himself, both of the manner, and of the time of the assault he intended to make, the daye tofore he intended to make his assault, he assembled before him all the principall captaines of his hoast; and declaringe to them his intent and purpose, he commaunded them vntill the next morrowe to keepe the same secrett, least by the disclosinge of his mynde shoulde come to his enemies, whereby they might the rather resist his streinght and avoyde the mischiefe. And this was the manner of the assault by him devised. That everie capten of the whole hoast shoulde devide his retinewe in three equall parts; and as soone in the morninge as they coulde heare a trumpett blowe in the Kings tent, they shoulde imediatlie goe to assault the Towne wth the first part of his retynewe so deuided, and wth all the noyse of trumpetts, tabors, and claryons, that coulde be made. And when the first part of the hoast were weryed wth travell and laboure, the seconde part shoulde succoure them, and contynewe the assaulte, whilest the other tooke there rest. And when the second part were wearie, the thirde part shoulde in like manner giue ayde vnto them. And if by that time the Towne were not taken, then the first part, after they were well reposed, shoulde assist the thirde parte; and so they shoulde contynewe alternatly vntill the ende of there desired victorie. After this knowledge of the Kings pleasure, every captaine returned to his owne companie. The fourth day of September,[2] in the first appeeringe of the day, trumpets were blowne in the Kings tents. And foorthwth, all the other trumpetts and tabors aunsweringe for euerie tent and pavillion, every man ranne to armes. The inhabitaunts of the Towne, that kept the watches on the walls, hearinge this noyse, and seeinge the

[1] in suam ditionem *Livius*.

[2] December *B.*, *an obvious error*; Pridie Nonas Septembris *Livius*; The fourth day of September *Stow*, *who now resumes after omitting all from* vnder his tuition, *on* p. 85 *above*.

Englishmen approach the walls in armes, gaue thereof knowledge to there captaines and souldiers.[1] The Englishmen raysed there ladders to the walls, and assayled to skale them w^th^ all the dilligence they coulde; but many of them were foorthw^th^ cast backwards into the ditch, and there ladders w^th^ them. Then on all parts the Englishmen assended the walls, and foorthw^th^ fought right manly, and labored right sore to gett the Towne; and they of the Towne endeuored them as busilie, and not w^th^ lesse laboure, by shott and castinge of stones, by sheddinge of skaldinge water and boylinge pitch and oyle vppon the Englishmen to resist theire enterprise; but allwaies, as one ladder was ouerthrowne and cast from the walls, many other more ardently were sett vpp in his place. And because at that part of the Towne, where the Kings Ma^tie^ assaulted, seemed to be the strongest men and the best fighters of the Englishmen, therefore they of the Towne in like manner sett the strongest and best fightinge men against the Kings part, and they of all the Towne most intentife to the defence of that part. Howbeit that no part of the walls were voyde of stronge men and right good fighters. They cast greate stones vppon the Englishmen. They poured on there heades skaldinge water, boylinge pitch and oyle.[2] And to speake breifelie they left nothing vndone that coulde be thought profitable for theire defence. But neither there castinge of there greate stones, that ouerthrewe the Englishmen from aboue at the hight of the walls vntill the bottomes of the deepe ditches, neither the skaldinge water entringe on euerie part betwext there harnes and boddies, neither the whote pitch and oyle boylinge and blyndinge theire eyes and scaldinge their faces, might make the Englishmen forsake the assault begonne.[3] In an other place farr from the Kinge was the noble Duke of Clarence, w^ch^ also w^th^ greate vigor assaulted

[1] Oppidani se supra muros splendentibus armis virorum relucenti corona regi se suoque monstrant *Livius.*

[2] In Anglicos ingentia saxa provolvunt, calcem in pugnantium oculos effundunt, mox et bullientis aquae maximam quantitatem *Livius.* The French cast great stones vpon the English men, they powered on their heads scetting water, molten lead, boyling pitch and oyle *Stow.*

[3] *Stow, after much abbreviating the Translator, here breaks off to give the story of Sir Edmond Springe from Walsingham* (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 324), *see below*, p. 92.

the Towne on his part: whose strenght the Frenchmen, neither by the helpe of there highe walls, there deepe ditches, by castinge of stones, by shott, by helpe of there whot water, boylinge pitch or oyle, nor by no manner of streinght or pollicie might resist them, but that they were so sore oppressed by the Duke and of his people, w^ch^ in maruelous multitude and incredible audacitie and manhoode scaled the walls: and they were constrayned to forsake the walls and to flye into the Towne. Then the Duke w^th^ all his power entered the Towne on this parte, whereby euerie street and way that they came vnto detrenched and slewe the Frenchmen, and all that they might attayne vnto they gaue the sworde.[1] There was no Frenchman spared saue priests, that were vnarmed, and women and children. But briefely after the Englishmen perceaued themselues to be assured of theire enemies, they spared to slay, and tooke many prisoners. When that noble Duke had subdewed all that part of the Towne vnto that river, then he came to the bridge[2] entendinge to wynn the other part also. At w^ch^ bridge the inhabitants to there possibilitie resisted his passage, but there strenght suffered not longe to endure against the Englishmen; for right shortlie they were slayne and put to flight by the Duke, who sought euerie part of the other half of the Towne, where he made greate occision[3] and murther of Frenchmen. When the Duke had subdewed the remnant of the Towne, and had slayne and taken all them that were able to make resistance, he went vnto that part, where the Kings battaile w^th^ all there force were[4] yet fightinge and assaultinge the Towne. Then the Duke assendinge the walls w^th^in the Towne, where he slewe and cast down the Frenchmen to the grounde, and made the Kings Battaile an open waie into the Towne, w^th^out any manner of resistance. Whilest those things were yet in doeinge w^th^in the Towne, came knowledge to the Kinge, that right nighe approached a great hoast of his aduersaries to dissolue his siege. Then the Duke,[5] leauinge such as he

[1] Pugnatur et in oppido per vicos, per plateas, ubi rebelles quotquot Anglici conveniunt omnes interimunt *Livius*.
[2] pontem oppidum fluminis in duo dividentis *Livius*.
[3] occasion *B.*; stragem ingentem *Livius*.
[4] were *om. B.*
[5] rex *Livius*.

thought necessary to preserue the assault, of his owne person w^th^ the rest of his companie prepared him to encounter his aduersaries in the plaine fielde; but against him came no man nor none enemy appeared. At the last the great plague and tempest of the assault appeased, the victorious Kinge w^th^ all his hoast entered the Towne by the gates that the Duke of Clarence had opened for him; and after the entrie thereof the Kinge went not to beholde the greate edifices and buildings of the Towne, neither to accumulate together the prayes and ritches of his enemies, but w^th^ right greate devotion he went to the Church of S^t^ Peter, w^ch^ was the principall Church of the Towne, there to giue laudings and praysings to the Immortall God for the obtayninge of his greate victorie. All they that intended to prowes[1] were maruelouslie enriched, for the inhabitants of the Towne were men of greate substance. But there was no man, howe hardy soeuer he was, durst to[2] robb or spoyle any Church or hallowde place for feare of the Kings Justice, w^ch^ was extreame in such case. And what soeuer any man tooke it was left vnto him for his owne. Nor also the Englishmen oppressed, nor rauished no weomen and children. But shortly after the Kinge commaunded all the weomen and children to avoyde the Towne. And thus the Towne of Caene was inhabited of newe possessors by the greate streinght and vertue of the Englishmen. Neuerthelesse the Castle of Cane was not yet gotten nor deliuered. The captaines thereof had there confidence in the highe and stronge walls of the Castell, in the deepe ditches, and in the greate number of towers, wherew^th^ the Castell was environed, whereby they thought themselues inexpugnable. Howbeit by the takinge of the Towne they were much more streightly inclosed than before.

[3] Notw^th^standinge whatsoeuer the Englishmen woulde doe, they helde it in three weekes after the takinge of the Towne. Enguerunt.

[4] The Kinge consideringe that the Castell woulde not be Titus Liuius.

[1] *Read* prayes (*booty*) *as in Stow*; praedae intenti *Liuius*.
[2] durst presume to *Stow*.
[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 242.
[4] *Liuius*, p. 40. Locaverat enim mox victoria rex potitus validam circum in agris et in Cadomo portae qua itur in oppidum solertemque obsidionem.

deliuered to him w^th^out [1] appointed a stronge companie to assiege it, in the feeldes, and in the gates of the towne that were towards the Castell.

Cronica Anglicana.

[2] At this assault and entry of the Towne was slayne a worshippful man on the English partie, whose name was Springes, the body of whome the Kinge caused to be enterred in the Abbey of Caene by the Sepulter of Kinge William the Conqueror.

[3] After this greate victorie of the Towne, as I haue heard of the report of the tofore named Earle of Ormound, all the greatest riches of the Towne, y^t^ was left vnspoyled, by the Kings straight commaundement were gathered together, and put into a greate and stronge house; whereof, when the doore was fast locked, the Kinge gaue the key and all the substance in that house to the Duke of Clarence, because by him the Towne was first entred and gotten, and to himselfe the Kinge reserued nothinge except a goodly French Booke, of what historie I haue not heard. Then the noble Duke, that had receaued so much riches and munificence, distributeth the same w^th^ like liberallity amongest his people that had deserued it; whereby he maruelouslie obtayned theire fauour and love. Then the Kings high enterprise of this warr, what shoulde I saie to be the occasion. If I shoulde presume too much couetousnes to be the cause thereof, then in two things comprised in this historie presedent I shoulde condemne myselfe: for first at his entrie into the Towne as afore recited, the Kings felicitie was neither set in beholdinge the highe and goodlie edifices and buildinges of this Towne w^ch^ then was his owne, nor yet he delighted in the sight and possession of so much riches and substance, as in golde, silver, precious stones, rich clothes, nor generally of nothinge within the Towne; nor, that more is, when the great quantetie thereof were after gathered together and laide tofore him, and at his pleasure and his owne, nothw^th^standinge that he right well considered and remembered the innumerable expence that he daylie was charged w^th^ for the wages of his people, and also for many other occasions in his owne warr, yet a Prince, from whome all

[1] *Blank in B.*; him, he appointed *H.* [2] *Brut*, p. 384.
[3] *The whole of this paragraph is an addition by the Translator.*

avarice was farr exiled, and not couetinge the vaine riches of the worlde, gaue all the same riches to the Duke of Clarence, whome as himselfe seemed had best deserued it, not reseruinge any thinge of valewe to himselfe. And for as much as [in] this historie before, it is largelie proued that pride and vaine glorie had no place in him, as it appeareth: First in his humble entrie into the Towne of Harefleete both barefooted and barelegged, and also at the battaile of Agincourt, and at his comminge into England after the same battaile. What then shall we saye to be the cause of this his enterprise in warr, considered that manie of his Conquerors of times past were invelupted in vaine glorie to be honnored and exalted aboue all others, or else in couetousnes of worldly substaunce? Truly to my pretence and judgement it is surely to beleeue, that the desire of justice and of his right, w^ch^ euerie man is bounden to his power to demaund and seeke, only mooued him to this warr. Wherefore it is vndoubted that the hand of God was euer readie w^th^ him. Therefore me seemed it good councell for euerie Christian Prince, enterprisinge any warr w^th^ good and stedfast confidence in God to ensewe the vertues wherein this most Christian Kinge and most vertuous Prince is heere commended; and they soe doeinge may be well assured in the example of him to attaine in like honnors and conquestes. Then to returne to our former purpose and matter.

[1] After the takinge of this Towne of Caene, the siege yet duringe tofore the Castell of the same, that Puissant Prince the Duke of Glocester [went][2] w^th^ his battaile to Bayeux, whereat when he had laye certen daies, the inhabitants thereof hauinge knowledge of the gettinge[3] of Caene, and of the dispoylinge thereof, consideringe also the streinght and pollycie of the Englishmen, tooke appointment w^th^ the Duke. First they yealded the Cittie freely vnto him, and also the Castell of the same, and promised to be true liegemen to the Kinge Henrie of England, and that from thence foorth they woulde knowe no man for theire Soueraigne but only Kinge Henrie and his heires. And the Duke by the Kinges commaundment gaue vnto them just and good gouernaunce and lawes; and that they

Titus Liuius.

[1] *Livius*, pp. 40–42. [2] *om. MSS., and Stow*; vadit *Livius*.
[3] greetinge *B.*: expugnationem *Livius*.

shoulde freelie liue in there manner tofore accustomed, vnder the protection and obeysance of the Kinge of Englande, as they tofore had done vnder the gouernaunce of the French Kinge. Whilst the Duke continewed tofore the Cittie, it was shewed to the Kinge that a right greate power of Frenchmen were assembled and were comminge to arayse this siege of the Castells of Caene. Then that victorious Kinge lefte the Towne of Cane, and lodged himselfe and all his people, a smale number except, w^ch^ contynued the siege before the Castell, in the fields in there tents and pauillions entendinge there to abide his enemies. And at that time appeared to the sight of all men a maruelous prodigie or token. And that was a white crosse was seene stand ouer the Kings pauillion by a greate season. Th'armes were so broade that they couered all the English tents. Of the sight whereof euerie man was greatly a marueled. And the Kinge longe aboade the comminge of his aduersaries in the fielde. But no man presented him as an enemie tofore his face. And therefore after certen daies the captaines[1] of the Castell, seeinge them[1] priued of all liberties, consideringe that no rescue came to dissolue the siege, nor that he[1] had no letters from his friends of no comfort nor rescue; and himselfe also as weary and ouercome by the prayers of his companie, w^ch^ feared like chaunce as tofore had fortuned to the Towne; and also at the instance and for the loue of diuers worshippfull men of the Towne, that were prisoners w^th^ the Englishmen and manaced to be slayne if the Castell were not the sooner deliuered; all these things by him pondered, the saide capten couenaunted w^th^ the Kinge in this manner: that if they were not reskewed from the siege w^th^in 14 daies, they shoulde deliuer to the Kinge there Castell w^th^ all Gunns, Engins, Armors, and all other things concerninge the feats of armes. And the capten, w^th^ other of the Castell and the Towne also that were fledd into the Castell for refuge, shoulde depart w^th^ all there goods freely and surely whether they pleased. After this appointment, when the 14 daies were expired and no succoure came for theire deliueraunce, the captaine disposed him to absolue his saide appointment w^th^ the Kinge, w^ch^ was accomplished in

[1] *Sic in MSS.*; praefectus castelli *Livius.*

this manner.[1] The 20th day of September the Kings pretory, or haule, of goulde and siluer silke, was sett vpp, and therein a ritch and goodly siege of estate: wherein when the Kinge was sett and all his great princes and estates aboute him, the capten of the Castell, presentinge himselfe before the Kinge, fell vppon his knees and yealded vnto him the keyes of the Castell wth all other things tofore rehearsed. Then the capten wth all his garrison, wth others of the Towne and Castell, wth all there goods and baggages were suffered to haue sure passages vnto there countries desired. And a newe garrison and capten were deputed to the keeping of the Castell. And because it was [reported][2] by the French prisoners that much ritches were hidd in the steeples and towers of churches in that Cittie,[3] the Kinge, wth all dilligence that coulde be, assembled together all the goods, ritches, and jewells of all the parrishe churches, abbies and other places of religion, that were brought in that Cittie to be kept, and deliuered it to trewe and good men to be safelie kept vntill the same places to whome the goods belonged were subdewed to his power. And then he commaunded that they shoulde be restored to there former possessors. And so was after done. Then to returne to the Duke of Glocester, whome we left before the Cittie of Bayeux. After the cittizens of the same vppon such appointment (as is tofore saide) had yealded themselues, theire Cittie, & there Castell vnto him, the saide noble Duke entered into the same Cittie, and recouered it for the Kinge, and after fortefied it, as it seemed to him most necessary.

[4] In short time the English had taken the Cittie of Liceux,[5] and the Castell of Newby.[6] And not longe after all yt was fortefied, were it Towne, Castell, or Cittie, within a greate precincte about them, were taken and reduced to the Kings obeysance. This most prudent Kinge, consideringe that nothinge might resist his might and streinght, and that by his conquest the country was sore dispouverd of people, he

[1] Nullum et cum subsidium ad ipsum tempus devenisset, ad deditionem se parant. *Livius*, p. 41.
[2] *om. MSS.*; vulgabatur *Livius*.
[3] ecclesiarum in arce bona multa reposita *Livius*.
[4] *Livius*, pp. 42-4. [5] Lisieux.
[6] Nennby *or* Newby *Livius*; Mewby *Stow*.

assembled his estats, by whome he councelled what was to be done to reconcile the harts and mindes of the Frenchmen vnto him; for allthought all things followed his minde fortunatlie, notw^thstandinge the contrarie power of his enemies, yet if he shoulde pursue his conquests and subdue the lande by armes w^thout appeasinge the minds of the gentlemen and commons, at the last he shoulde bringe all the lande in desolacion, w^ch he intended not: insomuch as he first enterprised the warr for to conquer his inhabitants,[1] w^ch he minded rather to loose w^th all his right in Fraunce, then to be lorde of a voyde and desolate countrie. Wherefore by the sentence of all his councell, he commaunded to be proclaymed in Caene, that whoso woulde returne to there proper howses to lyue vnder the obeysance of the Kinge of Englande and to be sworne to be faithfull liegemen vnto him, and to his heires, they shoulde inioy there houses and lands, and there former right and title. And if anie other Frenchmen desired to abide, chevish, laboure, and trauell[2] in any lands or Townes, that the Englishmen had conquered, they shoulde first assure the Kinge by oath of true and faithfull allegiance; and that done, they shoulde dwell, inhabite, chevish, jurney, and laboure surelie, in what places they woulde vnder his dominion. Which proclamacion made, many Frenchmen, as well noblemen, cittizens, burgesses, as commons, allmost all the countrie, returned againe in short tyme and made to the Kinge fealtie as is aforesaide. And of there sure and free abidinge in the Townes that were in the Kings Dominions they had Letters Pattents of the Kinge. And thus w^th the Kings good will they lived well and peaceablie, and prospered as well and better then tofore; and continewed more joyouslie then before, for because the Kinge of his goodnes had amoued certen vniust and dishonest exactions and impositions of money tofore vsed in that countrie. And thus in short time all that countrie was brought w^th good will, loue, and fauour vnder the Kings dominions. [3] Shortly after that the Kinge hadd deputed in all his places and

[1] *Read*, inheritance; hereditatem *Livius*.
[2] negotiari artes et officinas exercere velit *Livius*.
[3] *Here Stow resumes, having omitted all from* reduced to the kings obeysance *on* p. 95, *and inserted notices of the capture of Sir John Oldcastle, and of the Foul Raid from Walsingham and Otterbourne.*

Townes gouernors and captens, into whose hands all the Frenchmen, that shoulde returne into the Kings Citties & Townes, shoulde giue there oathes of there faithful and true allegiaunce, the first day of October he departed from Caene w^th^ his people, leauinge behinde him a sufficient garrison, and tooke his journey towards the Castell of Courcy, w^ch^ at the thirde daye of his comminge vnto it was yealded vnto him. And from thence the vj^th^ day of October he went to assiege Argenton. This Towne was verie defensible & stronge, w^th^ a Castell of great strenght; but the inhabitants of this towne, to whome it was not vnknowne the late oppression and desolacion of Caene, aunswered vnto the Kings Harralds that were sent vnto them to demaunde the deliueraunce of the Towne: that, if they were not succoured by the Frenchmen by a certen day lymitted, they woulde deliuer both the Towne and the Castell to the Kinge, vnder such condicions: that whosoeuer woulde depart thence he shoulde haue libertie to goe freely w^th^ all his goodes into what place of Fraunce he woulde; and they that woulde abide, first geuinge vnto the Kinge theire faith, shoulde surelie abide there vnder the Empiere of Kinge Henrie w^th^out loosinge anie of there goods and possessions, and from thenceforth they shoulde holde the Kinge for there Soueraigne Lord and Kinge, nor after that they shoulde knowe no other kinge, but only Kinge Henrie and his heires. All w^ch^ offers and condicions the Kinge right meeke accepted.[1] And when the time lymitted was come, and the Towne w^th^out succours, the inhabitants thereof for there parte performed there couenaunts. And the Towne and Castell were deliuered to the Kinge, who on his part attempted not to break those pactions that he tofore had couenaunted w^th^ them. And when the Kinge had constituted in the Towne and Castell captens to receaue the oathes of them that they shoulde abide there, and w^th^ them also hadd appointed certayne garrisons for the defence of them, he prepared himself to an other journey. After this dailie resorted to the Kinge much people of Normandy to doe fealtie to the Kinge, and to liue vnder his Empiere.[2] The Cittie of

[1] *This sentence is an insertion by the Translator.*

[2] to liue vnder his Empiere, *an insertion of the Translator; adopted by Stow.*

Sees,[1] wch was right well peopled, and wherein were two Abbeys maruelouslie stronge and defensible, yealded them vnto the Kinge: notwthstandinge the one of those Abbyes, if it woulde have preserued as a rebell, coulde not haue bin gotten wthout greate murther of people, for the strenght thereof. And many other Townes in that province yealded themselues vnto the Kinge wthout assault or battaile, by the example of this Cittie and of these two Abbyes. The things thus done, the Kinge tooke his voyage to Alamsom[2] to receaue into his dominion the Towne of Semgle.[3] In wch jurney he sent a greate peece of his second armye to 2 stronge Abbeys, whereof the one was Bomolins[4] and the other Essey[5], wch if they had made resistance he commaunded to be taken by force: but they submitted themselues to the Kings power, escheuinge the dainger of the assaults. In wch places the Englishmen at there departinge left stronge garrisons, to the ende that they shoulde trouble there neighbours that were enemies all that winter.[6]

[7] And the Kinge continewed his journey begune vntill he came to Alamsom; and the 15th daie of October they first dilligentlie viewed and knowen wch parts thereof seemed most able to resist theire assaultes. The Kinge sett his assiege tofore the Towne in this manner. First he commaunded the Puissant Prince, the Duke of Glocester, his brother, to fixe his tents before the Castell, wch was the strongest and most invincible part of the Towne. And all the remnaunte thereof he asseiged according to the strenght of the Towne. For where the strongest and most defensible places of the Towne were, there he sett the best captens and the strongest men of warr, and others he lymitted to parts of lesse streinght. This Towne is situat in a champion soyle,[8] it was garnished wth deepe ditches and greate and highe walls, wherevppon were manie greate Towers and Turretts sett verie neere the one to the other. The situacion of that Castell was very pleasant, it was defended[9] in like manner wth ditches, wall, and Towers

[1] Seez. [2] Alençon.
[3] Vermile *Livius*; Semile *Stow*. *It is intended for* Verneuil.
[4] Bonmoulins. [5] Essay. [6] *Stow abbreviated this paragraph.*
[7] *Livius*, pp. 44–8. [8] Erat Alenconium oppidum campestre *Livius*.
[9] descended *B.*; munitum *Livius*.

much better then the Towne. The inhabitants of the Towne consideringe that the Kinge woulde in no wise desist from the enterprise of this siege vntill the Towne were either taken or yealded, and on the other partie havinge little esperance of succour from the Frenchmen, notw^thstanding in the Kings first comminge they resisted him feircelie to there possibilitie, yet at the last hauinge more confidence in the Kings mercie then in the assistance and ayde of there people, either in there owne strenght, condiscended to couenaunt w^th the Kinge: that if w^thin certaine daies appointed they were not reskewed of theire people, they shoulde freelie deliuer to the Kinge both Towne and Castell, and in the meane time whilest this respite endured, there shoulde be no assaults, issewes or skirmishes one either partey. When this tearme prelimited was come, and the place not deliuered from this assiege by the Frenchmen, the captaines and inhabitants of the same deliuered to the Kinge both the Towne and the Castell, and themselues also, of whose goods nor persons none of the Englishmen were suffered violently to take, robb, dispoyle, toutch or hurt. But altogether, giuinge there faith first to the Kinge, aboade still in there owne possessions, possessinge in joye and in peace all theire faculties and substance in manner as they before had done. And all the souldiers that were sett there by the French Kinge for the defence of the Towne and Castell, of what cuntrie soeuer they were, were suffered peaceablie to depart w^th all there goods into what parts they woulde. Then the Kinge deputed captens both of the Towne and Castell, to whome he gaue authoritie to receaue the oaths of them, as well of that Towne as of all other Townes that resorted thether, that desired to liue vnder him and to knowe him for there Soueraigne Lorde. In little time all the cuntrie vntill the Cittie of Shenene[1] did fealtie vnto the Kinge and became his liegemen. The Englishmen after this tooke the Towne of Bolosme,[2] and the Towne and Castell of Fresway.[3] And shortlie to recount, all the country, by a great circute, Citties, Townes and Castells, were brought vnder the Kings subiection. In this tyme, that noble and mightie Prince, the Duke of

[1] urbem Cennomanicam *Livius*, *i. e.* Le Mans. [2] Bellême.
[3] Fresnay; Freswey *Stow*.

Brittaine, (first promise and assurance to him made for his safe returne) accompanied of many of the greatest estats of his cuntrie, came vnto this most victorious Kinge; where, after diuers meanes of peace betwext them attempted and mooued, at the last they accorded vppon this appointment: that from the seauenth tenth daie of October [1] vntill the last day of September of the yeare that was to come betwext the Kinge and the saide Duke, there Lords, Knights and Subiects shoulde indure a truce and a respite of warr; and for the same time also the Kinge [granted] [2] to the Queene of Jerusalem and Sicile and to Lewis her sonn, whose ambassadors this Duke of Brittaine was vnto the Kings Ma^tie^ for the Dutchie of Aniowe,[3] and the Dutchie of Shenen.[4] In that time also the Dolphine of Fraunce desired to treate w^th^ the Kinge for peace; to whose Ambassadors that shoulde be sent for that treaty the Kinge appointed the Towne of Tongue,[5] whereunto they might surelie and safelie resort for the same treatie: wherefore also the Kinge sent his Ambassadors of the saide Dolphine. Amonge w^ch^, after they were assembled and mett, were treated and mooued many diuers meanes and waies for the peace. And at the last the French Legatts offered to the Englishmen some acceptable offers of peace, wherevnto the Englishmen assented: but tofore the French Ambassadors woulde assure them of there offers, they saide they woulde speake to the Dolphine, and after returne to the Kinge, and bringe w^th^ them faithfull assurance of theire offers. And partlie accordinge to there promise not longe after they returned to the Kinge at the siege of Phalleys,[6] where they erred so farr from there first offers that they departed w^th^out [7] a pointment of peace. Thus the Kinge, this entreaty hanginge, departed from Alamsom, after it was obedient to his Empiere, and entred his journey towards the Towne and Castell of Phalleys to assiege the same. But first he sent before him

[1] a xv. Kal. Decembris (*sc.* 17th November) *Livius*; 17 day of October *Stow. The date of the treaty was 16th Nov.* (*Foedera*, ix. 511–14).
[2] *om. MSS.* [3] Anjou.
[4] Cenomanniae comitatu (*sc.* County of Maine) *Livius; Stow omits this sentence.*
[5] Touque. [6] Falaise.
[7] w^th^ *B.*; infecta pace *Livius; Stow abbreviates this passage.*

the Earle of Salisburie and manie other noblemen w^th^ him to inclose the Frenchmen from issuinge out from those places, least for feare to be assieged they woulde depart and leaue the place voyde: but that was nothinge there intent, for to there power they resisted the Englishmens enterprise right mightelie, and made w^th^ them manie battailes and skirmishes. They fortefied all those places that were to be fortefied. They made bullwarkes against there walls. They made there gates defensible w^th^ gunns and other engins. And forasmuch as in the places of ditches they were invyroned w^th^ greate and deepe valleys, w^th^ there greate paine and laboure they brought the course of divers rivers of higher places into the same valleys, where in by prossesse of little time the water gathered and rose so highe, as it stoode before there valleys to the semblance of a little sea. The Castell, that was nighe adioyninge, was sett vppon a high rocke, w^ch^ serued the place of a wall, so as it seemed as inexpugnable. This Castell was fortified w^th^ high walls and manie towers about the hight of a rocke.[1] All the bridges that were nighe about these places the Frenchmen brake and cast downe. They ordayned there watches, there wards, and there stacions. They suffred no time to be lost w^th^ idleness. They left no work vndone that they thought to be necessarie for the resistinge of theire aduersaries. The first daie of December the Kinge w^th^ the residewe of his hoast came before the Towne and Castell, where he ordered his siege in this manner: he caused his tents to be sett against the gate, w^ch^[2] ledd towards Cane; the noble Duke of Clarence, his brother [he][3] commaunded to lye before the Castell, notw^th^-standinge it seemed impregnable; and his brother the Duke of Glocester he sett vppon his right hande tofore the Towne. [4] And also other Lords and Knights and Gentlemen w^th^ there reteynewes, that were not in the companie of the Kinge and of the saide two Dukes,[4] were deputed to other places in that siege, such as were convenient for them. No place of the Towne nor Castell was left free, but that it was oppressed and inclosed by siege. The inhabitants of the Towne, consideringe

[1] supra ripam *Livius; no doubt we should read* supra rupem, *as translated above.*
[2] and *MSS.* [3] *om. MSS.* [4]...[4] reliquos proceres et Comites *Livius.*

vndoubtedly this siege woulde not be dissolued vntill the Kinge had either taken the Towne by force or else that it were yealded vnto him by the inhabitants thereof, doubted right sore and were in greate agony what they shoulde doe for sauinge themselues. Neuertheles partly encouraged by the garrison and souldiers they deliuered not there Towne. But they resisted the Kings power right longe. When winter w^th^ greate coldes greiued both man and beasts, the Kinge for releife of his people commaunded to be made for all his hoast, insteade of there tents, smale houses and edifices of tymber; w^ch^ when it was made seemed not a worsse Towne then that w^thin^ the Walls. And least peraduenture any of there enemies would suddenly assault or invade his people, the Kinge caused to be made a broade and deepe ditch about all his tents and houses, wherevppon also was cast a thicke and highe bancke, wherein innumerable stakes, sharped both the ends, were fixed as thicke as need was. And that done he raysed his engins to confounde the walls of the Towne. And he appointed foryners and victualers to puruey sustenaunce for his hoast in greate Hollande, Danske,[1] and other parts.[2] The Frenchmen that were asseiged passed not there time in slought and ease; for besides all those great labours that they tooke vppon them for the munition and defence of there holds, they also right often issued both from the Towne and Castell, and made many greate assaults amonge there enemies tents; from whence not only w^th^ the effusion of theire owne blood, but also many times w^th^ the loosinge of many of there lyues, they were constrained to returne, and in greate hast to take there holdes for there defence. And notw^thstandinge^ that the sharpe winter afflicted[3] both the parties maruelouslie sore (for all the waters in the valleys were frozen and congealed, in such manner that it seemed rather to be Christall or any hard stone then water. And that the manie and greate stormes of wyndes and rayne greeued them right sore, and namely the Englishmen, whose lodgings were farr worse

[1] Danzig.

[2] *This is new; Livius has simply*: quibusdam commeatuum praefectis a rege dictis, quae ad omnem hominis victum spectant in castra vilissimo quoque precio habundantissime devehi portarique facit.

[3] afflicted *om. B.*; premeret *Livius.*

then the Frenchmens. Yet the Englishmen, as they that were more couetous of honnour then weary of payne, for no affection woulde desist of there enterprise begonn.[1] The inhabitants, seeinge the Englishmen for no aduersitie or payne to be wearyed or feared from theire purpose, and that there walls by the English gunns and engins were often brought nighe to extremitie, fearing also to be assaulted in the example of the Towne of Caene, were rather deliberated to seeke for peace then to jeoparde the extreame perrills of the assiege. Notw^th^standing every mans minde was not consentinge thereto; by reason whereof the contrarious opynions mooued amongest themselues a greate discencion and strife. And amongest all other one Oliuer Newney,[2] w^ch^ was capten both of the Towne and of the Castell, havinge greate confidence in the strenght of his Castell and supposed at all tymes when he pleased he might beat the Englishmen from his Towne w^th^ his gunns and engins from the hight of his Castell, woulde in no wise condiscend to anie communicacion. Neuertheles the more part preuayled, in somuch as they appointed w^th^ the Kinge in this manner: that if by the second day of January they were not succored and deliuered from the siege by there people, they shoulde freely deliuer to the Kinge there Towne. For the faithfull performaunce whereof they deliuered to the Kinge certen of the best men of the Towne in hostage. And when the time permitted was come, and they yet in dispayre of succour, the Towne of Phallies, w^th^ gates opened, was deliuered to the Kinge, who commaunded that all the goods of the inhabitants, only of them that consented to the deliueraunce of the Towne,[3] shoulde remaine wholie to there former possessors and owners w^th^out any diminution. And the goods of them that were obstinate and contrarious to this deliueraunce of the Towne were vsed at the Kings pleasure, and persons commaunded to auoyde the Towne.[4]

[5] At the deliueraunce of this Towne the aforesaide captaine

[1] *This sentence is an insertion by the Translator.*

[2] *His real name was* Oliver de Manny. *Livius calls him* Oliverius de Nanney; *Hearne by an error of transcription has* Ulmerius.

[3] illis maxime qui deditionis pacta voluerant *Livius.*

[4] Ex contumacibus regiae majestati nonnulli sunt illinc abire jussi *Livius. The Translator paraphrases rather freely.*

[5] *Livius*, pp. 48–9.

Oliuer, captaine of the Towne and Castell also, wᶜʰ he indeuored him to keepe and defend against the Kinge, who then asseiged the same Castell about the ditches thereof much more straightly then he had beseiged the Towne. In the Towers and other smale Turretts that were betwext the Castell and the Towne[1] the Kinge sett his watches. And wᵗʰout the Towne, vnder the greate rocke that sustayned the Castell wall,[2] he sett manie noble and good men of warr. He commaunded his engynes to be raysed for the distruccion of the walls; wᶜʰ, for the hardnes of the rocke and for the height of the Castell, notwᵗʰstandinge that those engins were maruelous violent, profited nothinge; for they scarcely might skale the over walls that were aboute the rocke. The Kinge perceauinge himselfe not to proffitt in his gunns and other engins, caused to be made great bridges of wood;[3] wᶜʰ wᵗʰ much craft vppon wheeles, though the ditches were broad and deepe, he caused to be brought vnto the walls of the Castell; vnder wᶜʰ bridges wᵗʰ malletts, and pikes, and hammers, and other masonarie instruments, the Englishmen myned the same rocke for to subuert the walls that stoode vppon the rocke, and others that had there standinge in other places not nighe the bridges; and namely one knight[4] accumulated and heaped earth vppon earth vnder the side of the rocke, and by that meanes raysed the grounde so highe that it attayned to the foote of the wall, and was aboue the rocke, wherevppon the Englishmen assended. And by there craft they first pulled one stone from the saide wall, and after another, and then the thirde, and so they contynewed by longe space ever workinge. Then they prouided themselues a place to wᵗʰdrawe them vnto from the dainger of the wall for the fall, and also from the dainger of there enemies that were wᵗʰin the Castell. When this knight wᵗʰ his companie had thus by his laboure of manie daies made an entry in the Castell in the saide wall, they of the Castell perceavinge there dilligence, the[5] people of themselues made little faggotts of

[1] circa fossas, quae sunt inter oppidum et castellum *Livius.*
[2] quod instar castello murorum erat *Livius.*
[3] ligneos pontes in vinearum pene morem *Livius.*
[4] one knight *om. B.*
[5] dilligence, and the *MSS.*

wodd and cast vppon them moulten pitch, brymstone, and saltpeeter; and after w^th^ chaines of iron burninge hott they cast those faggotts vppon the Englishmen to burne them and to fyre[1] them from there worke, and to burne the stages of tymber that they had made ouer there heads for there defence.[2] But the Englishmen w^th^ forkes of iron avoyded and cast away from the bridge and there stages the faggotts, fyre, and chaynes, and preserued there munitions from burninge; vnder w^ch^ they labored so dilligentlie that the walls began to fall, as well where the knight w^th^ his companie, w^ch^ vnder there stages breakinge the walls, as where others vnder the bridges of tymber myninge the rocke, labored.[3] Nor there was no rest to them that were asseiged; for daylie and nightlie they were slayne w^th^ stones that were cast; and w^th^ shott from the Towne. They perceaued the walls to be myned, and themselues to be wearied and ouertrauelled w^th^ watchinge and fightinge in the defence of the Castell; wherefore they desired a trewce of the Kinge, promisinge him to treate of peace, w^ch^ after manie supplicacions the Kinge graunted a peace accordinge to this manner: that if by the 6^th^ [4] daye of February they were not succored of theire people, they shoulde deliuer to the Kinge theire Castell w^th^ the aforesaide Oliuer, captaine of the same, and all his goods, and w^th^ all there harnes, gunns, weapons, and all other engins w^th^in the Castell, consideringe the defence thereof, and w^th^ all other thing w^th^in the same. And all the people within the Castell (the saide captaine only excepted) shoulde freelie goe vnarmed whether they woulde, and in the meane tyme the Kinge gaue them libertie to sende to theire freinds for succoure of deliueraunce. But when at the time limitted no succoure appeared, the Castell w^th^ the saide Oliuer, w^th^ all the goods in the same Castell, were deliuered to the Kinge, who commaunded this Oliuer for his obstinacie to be dilligently and straightly kept

February the vj^th^.

[1] *Perhaps we should read* fear; deterrendos *Livius.*

[2] *The final clause is an addition of the Translator.*

[3] *A free paraphrase*: sed igne praedicto labari moenia incipiunt, et intus in oppido qui pontibus et malleis rupem effodiunt jam muris ruinae maximum exordium fecerant *Livius.*

[4] *The date should be* 16*th February. See Articles ap. Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 259, *and Foedera*, ix. 541.

in bonds, vntill the Castell, w^ch^ was sore appayred by there assaultes, were plenarly repayred and reedified at the proper costs of the saide Oliuer.[1]

[2] Then the Kinge, after he had deputed to the Towne and Castell other captens w^th^ sufficient garrisons, apparrelled his hoast to remooue. When nowe the time of Lent was present, wherein this Kinge shoulde serue God in prayers, vigilles, abstinences, and other holly and godly works, he disposed him to attend thereto with quiet and rest of his bodie. And that the warrs in the meane time shoulde not be delayed, he gaue the charge thereof to his two bretheren, the Dukes of Clarence and of Glocester, in his place and by his authority to oppresse and correct the rebbells, and to subdewe his aduersaries to his empire, to conquer and gett his stronge holds of the countrie, to reduce his people to his obeysance. And if peraduenture any of them shoulde haue need to haue ayde and succoure of him he woulde abide, duringe that Lent, in such a place that he in his person might assist him in there neede. And that place that he electe for himselfe was the Cittie of Beauce.[3]

[4] The puissant Duke of Clarence w^th^ his armed power conquered in this time [5] the Townes and Castells of Hariecourt, Fagnon, Tiuill, Cambrice, Courton,[6] and diuers others, and also the stronge Abbey of Bikillrenan,[7] the strongest rebell of all those parts. All w^ch^ places that mightie Duke of Clarence w^th^ assiege, assalts, oppressions, and fayre communicacions, legacions, and by obseruinge his promise to them made, in short time he subdued to[8] the Kings Empire. But what was done at euerie of these places I write not, because the circumstaunces thereof be not come to my hands or knowledge. But of them all I shall only saye this: that

[1] *Stow has only a brief account of the siege of the Town, and omits that of the Castle altogether.*

[2] *Livius*, p. 49.

[3] Bayeux; urbs Baiocensis *Livius*.

[4] *Livius*, p. 49.

[5] Citty *MSS.*: time *Stow*.

[6] Harcourt, Chambrois, *and* Courtonne *are plain*. 'Fagnon' *is perhaps* Pontauton; *Livius reads* Fagnou, *the Pseudo-Elmham* (p. 140) Fagarnon. Tiuill *is probably* Thiberville; Danville *or* Truville *in Livius*; Tywyl *Pseudo-Elmham*.

[7] Bec Hellouin; Bekellwyn *Livius*; Bikilrom *Stow*.

[8] to *om. B.*

whatsoeuer golde, or ritches, silver, pretious stones, or rich apparrell, and all other things that w^th^in Harecourt, w^ch^ the Duke had taken by assault, was by the Kinge geuen to the Duke in recompence of his laboure and manhoode.

[1] And that mightie Duke Humfry of Glocester was sent to the Isle of Constantine,[2] in the w^ch^ entrie of his first Jurney by his wisdome he obtayned the stronge Castle of Caudy [3] against his aduersaries; and from thence he went to the Towne of Castle of Vire, th'inhabitants whereof, seeinge that they were not able to resist his power nor havinge any assurance of reskewe, yealded them w^th^ all there goods to the Duke, and to [4] live vnder the Kings obeysance. The Castell of Turney [5] woulde not assaye the streinght of the Englishmen, but yealded them to the Duke. The Towne of Saint Lowe,[6] after this noble Duke had ordayned his assiege w^th^ the subberbs thereof, w^th^in fewe daies yealded them to the Duke, and by that meanes obtayned of him a sure peaces. The Castell of St. Sauiour Leuont [7] not abydynge the siege obeyed to the Duke for the Kinge. At his first comminge to Valloges [8], after the assiege was sett, the engins raysed, and the trenches and mynes begonne, submitted him to the Duke for the Kinge. He tooke also the Castells of Breckourt [9] and Whoo [10]. All these holdes taken the Duke intended to goe to Sherbroughe [11], a Towne aboue of all these of streinght and marvelous greate defence, w^ch^ was w^th^in the precinct to him lymitted; but in the beginninge of that his journey he was commaunded to retourne to the Kinge, w^ch^ commaundment he obeyed; whereby for that time that journey ceased. The most Christian King Henrie was duringe this time w^th^in the Castell of Bayeux w^th^ his companie, w^th^out whome he might not conveniently haue bene, where he attented to watches, prayers, to abstynences, and generally to all good workes besides. That notw^th^standinge duringe all the time he sent

[1] *Livius*, pp. 50–1.
[2] The Côtentin; insulam Constantini *Livius*.
[3] Condé-sur-Noireau; Cauday *Livius*.
[4] to *om. B.* [5] Thorigny. [6] St.-Lô.
[7] St.-Sauveur-le-Vicomte; Saint Sauueur le Visconte *Livius*.
[8] Valognes; Valoignes *Livius*; Valeiges *Stow*.
[9] Briquebec; Brekuek *or* Briquebec *Livius*; Breckcourt *Stow*.
[10] Néhou; Nehoo *Livius*; Who *Stow*. [11] Cherbourg.

of[1] his owne company the noble Earle of Huntingdon to subdue to his Ma^tie certen defensible places, w^ch w^thin short time he manly reduced vnder the Kings obeysance, as he had in commaundment to doe. The Kinge sent also the Earle of Warwick w^th another company of men of warr to asseige the stronge castell of Dounfront[2], w^ch was builded vppon the hight of a highe and roughe rocke, very harde: and the walls of this Castell were so highe, that it feared not the shott of gunns, nor skalinge of ladders, nor none other assault of there enemies. When this wise Earle perceaved[3] the strenght of the Castell, he deliberated by proces of time to wynn them by hunger and thirst. And for that cause he first prouided for victualls for his companie, and assigned[4] certen wise men only to attend for victualls for his hoast. And that done, he set his siege in such places as he thought most convenient and most easy for his people, and most preiudiciall for his aduersaries. He caused ditches to be made about the Castell, so that the Frenchmen might haue no issue, neither to gett victualls nor yet to assault the Englishmen.[5] But whatsoeuer prouision of victualls the noble Earle made for his owne companie, hunger troubled them so sore that w^thout any speed of there journey they had departed thence, had not this wise Earle w^th his prudence purueyed a medicen for that sore. He sent foragers and purveyors in all possible hast in greate aboundance to acquire victualls for his hoast, whome in the meane time he exorted to abide and to see th'ende of there enterprise, sayinge vnto them that the honnour they shoulde gett by the atchivinge of there enterprise shoulde farr exceede the same payne of there hunger.[6] And when the foragers and victuallers were returned, the Englishmen were encouraged with the receipt of there newe victualls; and to the contrarie

[1] for *B.*; De suo tamen latere *Livius.* [2] Domfront.
[3] perceavinge *B.* [4] asseiged *MSS.*
[5] and most preiudiciall . . . Englishmen, *inserted by the Translator, who omits the following sentence*: Tum excursiones et insidias, in nemoribus hostium commeatui obsidentium frequenter habitas, solertia sua perdomuit et penitus amovit. *Stow abbreviates all this passage.*
[6] *The Translator paraphrases freely*: Fuisset et inde infecta re penitus abeundum, nisi comes prudentissimus huic morbo sua prudentia medelam attulisset, et Anglici minoris longe famem quam honoris jacturam minimam duxissent.

there aduersaries were more and more oppressed by hunger. Wherefore in brief time they couenaunted w^th^ the saide Earle: that if at the 22^th^ day of June they were not dissolued from this asseige, they shoulde yealde them to the saide Earle for the Kinge. And when that day was come, and no succour knowne, the Castle was deliuered to this mightie Prince.

[1] The Duke of Glocester, after he had bene w^th^ the Kinge, had repressed his journey towards Shearbroughe.[2] The captaine of the same, havinge knowledge of his purpose, and other noble men, that were deputed by the French for the defence of that place, assembled out of all places the strongest men of warr in maruelous greate number, that might be gotten for the resistaunce of the Englishmen and for the defence of the Towne. And whereas they had greate and large subberbs w^th^out the Towne-walls, because the Englishmen shoulde not be lodged in them, they burned them and made them equall w^th^ the grounde. They repayred there towers and there walls. They fortefied there Towne w^th^ gunns and other engins. They brake and distroyed the bridge that ledd ouer the river w^th^out the Towne.[3] This Towne was fortified w^th^ innumerable tuytions and defences; the most part thereof was enclosed w^th^ the fludds of the sea; and the residue thereof was compassed w^th^ a broade ditch; and w^th^in that was a greate and stronge wall well fortified and garnished w^th^ stronge turretts; and a greate fludd, that environed a greate parte of the Towne and also of the Castell, fortified maruelously the Towne. And to this Towne also belonged a stronge and defensible hauen, wherein there shipps might surely lie, and the same hauen was also greate strenght to the Towne.[4] The Castell of this Towne was enclosed w^th^ 16 greate and stronge towers and turretts. It was fortified w^th^ dubble walls and w^th^ deepe and broade ditches. In this Castell, and also in the Towne, were an innumerable ordinaunces and engins of warr.[5] This victorious Duke, tofore he approached the

[1] *Livius*, pp. 51-56; *Stow gives only a short abbreviation.*
[2] Dum Caesarisburgum proficisceretur dux Gloucestriae strenuissimus *Livius.*
[3] pontem quendam pelagi rumpere *Livius.*
[4] *The Translator expands this from* navibusque suis portum facere.
[5] *The Translator expands*; castellum ejus sexdecim pulcherrimis

Towne, sent wise men and manly knights to view and espie this place and situacion thereof, and to bringe him worde in what place he might assiege it to his most advantage and to the greatest oppression of the Towne; wch knights, when they were returned, reported to the Duke that both the Towne and Castell were inexpugnable; but that report discouraged not the Duke, nor delayed him not from the pursuite of his purpose. But wth firme faith to atchive his enterprise, he went tofore the Towne wth all his people. Where the Duke fortuned to be lodged in a certen little house, best of all the other, as it was convenient for his estate. And all other were lodged in vplandish cots,[1] such as they coulde finde. And the next day they approached nighe vnto the Towne, where-vnto they sett there asseige. Howebeit at there first comminge they asseiged it not on all partes; forasmuch as the inhabitants had broken the bridge wthout the Towne, the Englishmen were depriued of there passage ouer the river.[2] There were also many heapes of sand, wch was so subtill and smale, that it mooued wth everie wynde; wherewth the Englishmen were so encombred, for every winde blewe it in there faces and eyes, that they were letted to sett there sege in that place.[3] Neuertheles the Duke sent to those places diuers times armed men to watch that the Frenchmen shoulde nothinge doe there, that shoulde be preiudiciall to the hoast, and to enclose the Towne from the liberties of the sea, that they shoulde receaue nothinge by water that shoulde be for there compfort.[4] The wise Duke sent for a sufficient nauy of shipps and of men of warr out of the Kings Isles of Gurnesey and Gursey[5]; wch, when it was come,[6] the Duke commaunded to lye betwixt the Towne and the sea. And because the feelde wherein the Englishmen lay was all playne wthout hill or other defence, they of the Towne had from

turribus vallatum duplicibus moenibus propugnaculisque munitum esse *Livius*.

[1] rustica diverticula *Livius*. [2] *Stow's abbreviation stops here.*

[3] Erant harenae praeterea cumuli ad ipsa loca non minimi, vento instabiles, illuc modo modo istuc ventorum flatibus agitati, qui non habere sinebant Anglicos his in locis certa stabiliaque diverticula *Livius*.

[4] *This is the punctuation of the Translator. But probably there should be a full stop at* hoast, *and a comma at* compfort; *as in the Latin.*

[5] Guernsey and Jersey. [6] come to *B*.

euery place open shott w^th^ there gonns into the hoast. Whereby the Englishmen were sore trauelled and letted from the preparinge of the engins, and also from shootinge of there ordinaunces. Wherevppon the Duke breifely prepared this remedie, and thereof gaue charge to diuers of his knights to see it done. He commaunded in the beginninge of the next night that euerie three persons of the hoast should bringe from the next wood a slidd laden w^th^ greate stakes and w^th^ other greate peeces of greene [1] wood into there lodges. At w^ch^ commaundment there was brought so much greene wood and stakes in the first night, that therew^th^ they made a bulwarke betweene them and the Towne all the lenght of theire fielde and of a sufficient height and thicknes to defende them from the ordinance of the Towne. And w^th^ theire greate stakes w^ch^ they fixed in the grounde they vndersett and sustayned there saide bullwarke from breakinge or fleeinge backwards vppon them by the violence of the Frenchmens gunns.[2] And when the inhabitants of the Towne perceaued in the morninge this maruelous and politique art and laboure to be done in one night, they gaue them to right great maruaile; and to breake and ouerthrowe that greate bullwarke they oftentimes shott there greate gunns, and cast w^th^ there most violent engins stones of incredible quantitie; but all there trauell was in vaine, for the bullwarke was so greate and so well vndersett,[3] that it feared no shott nor castinge of stones. Then the Frenchmen, perceauinge there shott to be spent in vaine, imagined a newe manner of shott insteade of stones; they shott greate peeces of steele fire-hott,[4] wherein was so greate heate that they burned not onely the wood but also the earth; and w^th^ this manner newe imagined shott in short time they burned and destroyed the greater part of the Englishmens bullwarks, who for the defence of the same tooke maruelous greate paines; some rann to the wood and brought to increase and renewe the bullwarks, where it was perished, and some other carried water and cast vppon the

[1] greate *B.*; carpentum honeratum viridi minime grossisque palis *Livius.*

[2] *This sentence is a gloss by the Translator.*

[3] *Livius has simply*: Erat namque tantus agger, ut, &c.

[4] globos calibis igne candentes *Livius.*

fyre. Then the Duke w^th^ all the possible dilligence commaunded to be made trenches in the earth to conserue his people from the dainger of shott. He commaunded also that the greate peeces of tymber and much greate wood to be brought from the wood in [to the] [1] trenches, to couer therew^th^ theire caues and lodges for the resistance of the gunns, that were shott continewally from the Towne.[2] W^ch^ thinge when it was seene of them in the Towne, they were amaruelled much more then tofore. And this most prudent Prince, that had the charge of the asseige, because he shoulde not be frustrate and disappointed of the enterprise by constraint of hunger or thirst, nor by default of anie thinge that shoulde be necessarie for his hoast by the longe continuaunce of the asseige, ordeyned a market to be kept in the fielde, wherein was to be solde as well victualls as all other things needfull to so greate a company. And because the Frenchmen w^th^in the Towne shoulde make no suddaine assault nor inuasions amongest his people, this Duke made to be cast deepe ditches betwext the fielde and the Towne, wherew^th^ he inclosed them from all issues on that part; by meanes whereof the victualls were much surer from the dainger of the Frenchmen. And also there came forrageors w^ch^ had the better assurance of there enemies. And for because the course of the sea, that daily flowed aboute the Towne, suffered not the Englishmen to approach the walls of the same, the Duke commaunded to assemble all laborers out of all parts that might be gotten, w^ch^ by there labour brought that arme of the sea from his accustomed course into another course that they deuised for it. And by greate damms and banks they kept it in out of his olde course. But notw^th^standinge all there pollicy and laboure at euerie chainge of the moone [3] the sea flowed so highe that it brake the damms that they had made, and the sea returned to his accustomed course. Then the Duke commaunded euerie man of his hoast to take in his hand a spade or shouell and therew^th^ to cast the earth tofore them into the ditches, that by that meanes they might attaine to the walls. And at this commaundment the Englishmen were so

[1] *om. MSS.* [2] *The Translator paraphrases freely.*
[3] luna cum sole conjuncta *Livius.*

ardent in there laboure, that w^th^in short time the accumulacion of the earth w^th^in the ditch was nighe as highe as the walls; w^ch^ thinge done the Englishmen made greate frames and stages of timber, vnder w^ch^ they approached the walls to assault the Towne; but the shott of the Towne was so greate and thicke, that it brake there frames in peeces so that none of the English were suffered to abide vnder the same frames; but either they were slayne w^th^ the fall of there owne frames, or by the castinge of stones out of slings, or else by the shott of gunns. Thus the Englishmen voyde of theire inquests were constrayned w^th^ theire losse to returne from there assault. And when in like manner the Frenchmen were w^th^drawne into there houses to rest them of there greate laboure, the Englishmen all readily armed, not takinge any repose, seeinge they coulde not proffit to assaulte the Towne, rann into the myne that they tofore had begunne. And therein at no season ceast to laboure in purpose to subuert the walls of the Towne by this meanes; in w^ch^ mynes they fought and laboured so ardently, as they might scarsely be mooued from the ruyne and distruccion of the walls for no pirrills nor resistance of theire enemies. And namely one Lowes Robsarte, whome the Kinge had made knight at the siege of Cane, w^th^ manie a stronge Englishman mightelie fought and laboured in the same myne. But at the last by the dilligent laboure and manly resistance of the Frenchmen they were so sore trauelled and laboured that of necessetie they must returne to theire tents.[1] And when they had thus asseiged Sesarborough[2] almost five monethes, and had sore oppressed the Frenchmen both by land and by water, and that there mynes w^th^in the earth were brought almost vnto the walls of the Towne, the Frenchmen, wearied of so longe a siege and not havinge sufficient of victualls, were constrayned to treate of peace; and because that Towne appeared most of streinght of anie other Towne in that circute, notw^th^standinge they asked most arrogantly the respitt of manie daies, the Duke graunted vnto them truce for lxij[3] daies next fol-

[1] Fatigatique tandem infecta re redeunt in oppidum *Livius.*
[2] Cherbourg; Caesarioburgum *Livius.*
[3] *An error for* xlij; duos et quadraginta *Livius.* *The Pseudo-Elmham*

lowinge; vpon condicion that, if by the ende of the terme they were not rescued by the Frenchmen, they shoulde deliuer to the Duke there Castell, there Towne, and all there holdes, and there bodies also, and in the meane time they shoulde haue libertie to sende for succour to the Dolphine in Guyan [1], and also to John the Duke of Burgonie, w^ch at that time laye in Parris; and thoughe that sometimes some displeasure had bin tofore time betwixt those two Princes, yet at this great neede they both assembled right greate hoasts entendinge to come to deliuer the Towne. The Englishmen that were at that asseige beleeued for trueth that the Frenchmen woulde haue come to haue resisted this asseige rather then to suffer so stronge a Towne [to be yealded] [2] to the hands of there enemies. This puissant Prince, captaine of the assiege, consideringe that the assiege and the number of his people were not comparable to the number of those two hoasts, of his engins [3] caused to be made [4] greate and deepe ditches w^th high and stronge banks sett full of sharpe stakes, not only towards the Towne but also one all sides of his fielde. He caused to be made also many stronge block houses of tymber, like vnto turretts, to defende his people from the assaulte of theire enemies, if peraduenture they come to arrayse this siege. He fortified maruelouslie the market place, where victualls and all other things necessary were to be soulde for the comfort of his hoast. And whatsoeuer things he coulde imagine to be avayleable to his companie and for the oppressinge of his aduersaries, or in any thing for the assurance of his people, he caused it to be done w^th all dilligence possible. In the meane time this victorious Kinge Henrie layde the siege tofore Roane [5] the Master [6] Cittie of all Normandie, from whence to depart w^thout subduinge the same he thought it shoulde redownd to his dishonnour. Notw^thstandinge he

Roane the chiefe Cittie in all Normandie.

(pp. 177-9) *describes the negotiations as at first abortive, but as resulting finally in a truce for* six *weeks.*

[1] Guienne; Aquitaniam *Livius.*

[2] *om. MSS.*; redditum iri *Livius.*

[3] of his engins, *an interpolation; there is nothing to correspond in Livius.*

[4] made to *B.*; *Livius has* fossas ingentes, *simply.*

[5] Rouen.

[6] *B. apparently* M^rs (mistress); totius Normanniae capud *Livius.*

knewe all the perrils [1] of his Brother and his companie that were to come, if so greate a number shoulde come to rayse the siege of Sesarboroughe, wherefore he wrote into Englande to certen Gentlemen towards the west parts, commaundinge them imediatly to send ayde to the Duke of Glocester tofore Caesarboroughe; accordinge to whose commaundement two thousande chosen men were shipped in thirtie shipps, and w^th^ a fortunate wynde were brought to lande in the hauen of Caesarboroughe, but more nighe vnto the Dukes company. And when the Frenchmen w^th^in the Towne sawe the landinge of so manie armed men, w^th^ joy they gaue thanks vnto the Immortall God, supposinge for truth that they hadd bin sent for theire deliueraunce and for there ayde. And in this greate joy they assended the walls to beholde them more at there pleasure; but when they perceaued them enter the Englishmens lodges, and that they were freindlie receaued of the Duke and of his company, forthw^th^ there joy was turned into lamentacion and sorrowe, seeinge before theire eyes there evident desolacion. And at the last, at the xx^th^ [2] day of September, they were not releeued by theire people. The Towne and the Castell w^th^ all theire goods, as they had couenaunted, were deliuered to the Duke for the Kinge. And when he established the Towne and the Castell, and put in them captaines and garrisons to keepe them in the Kings obeysance, and had ordered and purveyed euerie thinge that coulde be thought necessarie, this noble Duke departed thence and went to the Kinge, who at that time laye at Roane.

The Scotts inuade Englande.

[3] Whilst these things were thus doing in Fraunce the Scottish people, allwaies aduersaries to the Englishmen, knowing the Kings absence and consideringe the time nowe to be convenient for there purpose, w^th^ a greate companie of armed men inuaded the realme of England in the farthest part of the North; and most cruelly they gaue to the sword and to the fire all that they might obtaine vnto. Then the noble men of Englande, to whome the Kinge had geuen charge to defende

[1] parts *B.*; perricula *Livius.*

[2] *A mistake for* xxix^th^; ad iii Kal. Octobris *Livius in the best MS.*, ad Kal. Octobris *in others.*

[3] *Livius*, p. 56.

the saide North parts, gathered an hoast of an hundred thousand men, w^ch^ all made greate dilligence to fight w^th^ there enemies. And at that time by fortune the Duke of Exeter, vnckle to the Kinge, w^ch^ had sent vnto the Duke of Glocester[1] a companie of armed men, as it is aforesaide, was come on pilgrimage into those parts where the Scotts were entered into England. And when this greate hoast of the Englishmen were assembled to battaile to there enemies, the same Duke tooke in charge to order and to conduct them. Th'archbishopp of York, w^ch^ for his greate age might not indure to ride vppon a horse, like as a good olde man caused himselfe to be brought to the English hoast in his chayre, to comfort and incourage the harts of the people that they shoulde more ardentlie defend there countrie. And when the battailes were ordered after the manner of Englande they aduaunced them towards there enemies, w^ch^ fearinge so greate power of the Englishmen fledd and returned into there owne countries in Scotland. Then when all these thinges were in good suertie towards the North, the saide Duke of Exeter w^th^ a chosen companie of men of warr tooke his shipps and sayled into Normandie, where he landed and tooke his journey towards Roane to the Kinge; in w^ch^ journey he wan the Cittie of Ebroicen.[2]

[3] Nowe we shall returne to the Kinges Ma^tie^, w^ch^ perseuered the whole Lent, and also the solemnitie of Easter in prayers, abstinences, vigiles, almes deedes, and other charitable deedes,[4] w^th^in the Towne of Bayuxe, from whence he after Easter went to Cane, where he solemnized the feast of Saint George, as the custome of Kinges of England hath aunciently been. At w^ch^ feasts he made xv. Knights of the Bath.[5] And that done he deliberated to goe to Roane, the chiefe and principall Cittie of Normandy, notw^th^standinge that his companie was

[1] *This is an assumption by the Translator*: qui nuper exercitum conscripserat ad instaurandam militum manum qui viriliter in Gallia bellabatur *Livius*.

[2] Evreux; urbem Ebroicensem *Livius*; Ebrociens *Stow, who for this paragraph follows partly the Translator, and partly Otterbourne*, pp. 279, 280.

[3] *Livius*, pp. 56–60.

[4] workes *H.*; *here B. leaves a blank, apparently accidental.*

[5] *An insertion by the Translator, from the Brut* (p. 384); *adopted by Stow, who adds some of the names.*

greatlie minished by the absence of the Duke of Glocester, that lay there before Caesarboroughe, and the Earle of Warwicke, that then asseiged the Castell of Donnfront. Neuertheles the Kinge departed from Cane the ix^th^ [1] day of June, and tooke his voyage w^th^ all his people that were left vnto him towards the Cittie of Roane. In w^ch^ journey, because it was not farr out of his way, he first layed siege to the Towne of Louers,[2] where he ordayned watches and wards for feare of sodaine invasions of there enemies. And notw^th^standinge the Towne was fortefied w^th^ triple [3] walls, and mayne towers, and smale turretts, w^th^ gunns of euery fashion and quallitie, and almost w^th^ innumerable engins and torments, and as well defensible as inuasiue; yet the Englishmen and there engins and shott acquired so much leasure, that (maugre theire enemies) they raised there pauillions and tents; they raysed also a certen engine of tymber, vnder w^ch^ manie labored to myne the earth and to make there entrie vnder the walls, and some others labored to subuert and ouerthrowe the walls, and to make entrie into the Towne aboue the grounde. And all these laborers this engine defended from dainger of there aduersaries. And manie of the Englishmen labored to fill the great ditch w^th^ tymber and earth to make passage to the walls. The Frenchmen made manie issues and manly assaults vppon there enemies, betwext whome were manie greate battailes and skirmishes, but alwaies w^th^ there greate losse and receauinge of greate woundes the Frenchmen were constrayned to recoyle them w^th^in the Towne. One day the Frenchmen fearinge that engine, whereof I spake tofore, vnder w^ch^ the Englishmen wrought,[4] and suspected by the same there vtter distruccion to approach, ouerthrewe and cast downe the great part of the third wall [5] directly against the same engine. W^th^ greate force they rann w^th^ instruments to breake the same. At w^ch^ enterprise the strenght and manhoode of the French was proued. The English hasted them w^th^ all parts to defend there engins, so that betwext them and the Frenchmen was at

[1] xix^th^ *B.*; quinto Idus Junias *Livius*; ninth of June *Stow.*
[2] Louviers; Louars *Stow.*
[3] tirrible *B.*; terrible *H.*; triplici muro *Livius.*
[4] whereof . . . wrought, *an insertion by the Translator.*
[5] magnam muri partem ruunt *Livius.*

that time a right cruell deadly conflicte. The Frenchmen payned themselues to resist the Englishmens forces, vntill the distruccion of this engine. And the Englishmen indeauored them to slea the Frenchmen, for the conseruacion of the same. But at lenght the Frenchmen, faylinge of power to resist the Englishmens force, were constrayned to returne into the Towne, leauinge the saide engine whole and vnbroken; but first manie wounds were receaued on both parts. After a time the Frenchmen seeinge themselues more and more oppressed greuouslie by the Englishmen, consideringe also that the Kinge desisted not from any siege begunn w^th^out the obtayninge of his purpose; and, notw^th^standinge that there place was maruelous defencible and stronge, deliberated rather to proue the Kings goodnes and mercie, then this assiege, whereof they desired to treate w^th^ the Kinge for peace. At w^ch^ intreatie they couenaunted w^th^ the Kinge in this manner: that if they were not deliuered from this asseige by the xxiiij^th^ of June, they shoulde freelie yealde to the Kinge the Towne and Castell, and the garrison of that place shoulde serue the Kinge a certen time for his money after the custome then vsed.[1] The inhabitants of the Towne shoulde abide there continewally vnder the obeysaunce of the Kinge, inioyinge all there goods and possessions as they did tofore, w^th^out anie iniurie to be done vnto them by the Englishmen; and that all there gunners, and all other that shott or cast stones by there engins amongest the Englishmen shoulde be deliuered to the Kinge to be hanged vppon this appointment. When the day lymitted was come, and no succour come to the Towne, there couenaunts on both parties were obserued. At this siege the Cardinall Vrsinys,[2] Ambassador for the Duke of Burgonie, came to the Kinge; but betwext them was no appointment. Wherefore w^th^ much honnor and greate giftes geuen to him by the Kinge he returned to the Duke from this Towne w^th^ great hast. At the xxij[3] day of June, and tofore the day of the deliueraunce of the Towne, leavinge part of his hoast to continewe the siege and to receaue the Towne at the

[1] regiis stipendiis quibusdamque legibus inter eos habitis per aliquot tempora sub rege militabunt *Livius*.

[2] Cardinal Orsini, *cf. Foedera*, ix. 599.

[3] 27^th^ June, *more correctly in Pseudo-Elmham*, p. 170.

day appointed,[1] the Kinge w^th^ the residue of his hoast went to lay his siege tofore Portlarge,[2] by the middle whereof the Riuer of Seene hath his course; when the Kinge had laied his siege to the one part of the Towne, he coulde haue no passage ouer the river to laye siege to the other side of the same, for the bridge that was w^th^out the Towne[3] was defended w^th^ a stronge tower, wherein was a garrison of Frenchmen w^th^ gunns and other artillerie for the defence thereof. And also the Frenchmen, tofore the Kings comminge, had drowned one the further part of the riuer from the Kinge all the boates that were belonginge to the river, except such as they kept w^th^in the Towne for there own vse; by reason whereof the one halfe of the Towne was free w^th^out siege, as the aforesaide tower that defended the bridge, w^ch^ stoode on the further side of the riuer from the Englishmen.[4] The garrisons of the Frenchmen made surely and w^th^out dainger theire assemblies, and from thence they hadd passage ouer the bridge to the English hoast to assault them in there tents; and by the same bridge they had there recourse to the aforesaide tower, when they were pursued by there enemies; vppon trust whereof the Frenchmen made manie issues vppon there enemies, but at all tymes they were chased to there houlds to there owne losse, and not w^th^out receauinge manie wounds on both parts. The Kinge, w^ch^ had not esperance to subdue the Towne except he might sett his assiege to the Towne on all parts, w^ch^ he might not doe for the saide riuer, commaunded diuers of his hoast, such as were expert in swymminge, by there streinght to drawe vpp[5] those boats that were drowned of the Frenchmen of the further side of the water; but there aduersaries perceauinge there enterprise rann in greate hast vnto them, and w^th^ shott and castinge of stones letted them of there purpose;[6] then

[1] and tofore . . . appointed *an interpolation by the Translator, no doubt to explain the discrepancy of the dates.*

[2] Pont-de-l'Arche; Pontlarche *Livius, and Stow.*

[3] that was without the towne *an interpolation by the Translator, adopted by Stow.*

[4] *The Translator here handles his original very freely; all this passage from* And also *to* the Englishmen *is an interpolation based on his interpretation of the rest of the Latin text. Stow omits it.*

[5] longis grossisque funibus colligatas . . . emergi jubet *Livius.*

[6] *This clause is another interpolation by the Translator.*

the Kinge, seeinge this deuise tooke none effect, commaunded in all hast possible to make boates of smale wickers, and when they were made to be inclosed in beasts skins; and because this councell shoulde not come to his aduersaries, he ordayned these boats to be made at the Abbey of Donport,[1] where much of his companie lay; while these boats were finished and made, the Kinge gaue charge to the Duke of Clarence by these boats to convey him and his people ouer the water to assiege the other part of the Towne. Then this noble wise Duke, at the 5th day of the moneth of July,[2] in the night longe before daye by a signe made vnto them at the lighteninge of a fire in a certen highe place[3] commaunded a greate companie, such as coulde swime, when they shoulde see that light, to enter the river wth greate noyse and bruite at a certaine place to them appointed, wch was three thousand paces distant from the Towne. And when accordinge to the Dukes commaundment they were entered into the river, before they hadd passed the one halfe thereof, manie Frenchmen one horsebacke came to them as fast as was possible to lett them of there passage. And in the meane time betwixt them the Duke cast his smale boates wth his companye into the riuer, and passed ouer secretlie in greate number; whereof when the Frenchmen, that were gonn to defend the riuer, vnderstoode they returned hastelie, and assembled there engins and standards, and in a fielde nighe vnto the Englishmen they embattelled there companie, and disposed them to fight. But when they perceaued such a multitude of there aduersaries on the same side of the riuer wth them, they thought more surelie to wthdrawe them then to fight, and in that opinion they tooke there horses and returned to theire houldes; whom the Englishmen, wch were all on foot, must of necessitie suffer to passe at there pleasure. Then the noble Duke of Clarence wth all his companie, leauinge the chase of there enemies, whome they might not ouertake for the aduauntage of theire horsses, hasted him to assiege the residue of the Towne, that then was without siege, and

[1] Bonport *Livius.*

[2] *The true date was 4th July, as given by Clarence in a letter to the City of London* (*J. Delpit, Collection des Documents français*, p. 222). *The Pseudo-Elmham* (p. 173) *has* Julii luce quarta.

[3] de quadam turri *Livius.*

the tower vppon the bridge, whereof I spake tofore. To wᶜʰ places he set his siege at one time and that fortunatlie. Then the most devoute Kinge, hauinge knowledge hereof, fell vppon his knees and gaue thanks in greate deuocion to the immortall God; and because the Seene deuided his hoast, whereby if either partie shoulde haue neede of th'other they coulde not come together for the riuer, the Kinge caused to be made so manie square boates of the wicker aforesaide, wᶜʰ he caused to be tyed together and cast into the riuer, that of them he made a bridge by wᶜʰ the one part of the hoast might surely resort to the other, when neede required. When th'inhabitants and garrisons perceaued them thus inuironed wᵗʰ there enemies in all parts, and in dispaire to receiue anie succoure of the Frenchmen, they deliberated rather to submitt themselues to the King, then to aduenture the fortune of the assiege. Wherefore they thus agreed wᵗʰ the Kinge: that, if wᵗʰin xv. dayes they were not deliuered from this assiege, they shoulde deliuer to the Kinge the Towne and the Castell; and when that day [1] was come, and no succoure appeared, they deliuered the Towne and the Castell to the Kinge as they had promised. And this was the first bridge ouer the riuer of Seene that the Kinge subdued to his power.[2]

[3] After that this invincible Kinge had thus obtayned and gotten this bridge ouer the riuer of Seene, and that there was none other river or flood might lett his journey, with all the hast and prouision that he might he entered his iourney towards Roane,[4] where of the situacion is such: it standeth nigh to a plaine fielde nighe adioyninge to a hill, it is inuironed wᵗʰ highe and thicke walls, and wᵗʰout those walls be broade and deepe ditches, and besides that the Riuer of Seene compasseth all most all the Cittie; the Castell of this Cittie is so stronge and defensible that it excedeth all other Castells wᵗʰin the Countrie. This Cittie is verie large, and at

The strenght of the Castell of Roane.

[1] videlicet xiii. Kal. Sextilis (20ᵗʰ July) *Livius.*

[2] *Stow somewhat abbreviates this account of the siege of Pont-de-l'Arche.*

[3] *Livius*, pp. 60, 61.

[4] *Stow follows the Translator, but omits from* whereof *to* against theire aduersaries *on* p. 122. *Then continuing with slight variations to the end of the paragraph.*

that time it was verie well garnished w^th^ cittizens, knights, men of armes, and souldiers; for besides the inhabitants and besides those garrisons that were assigned by the French kinge for the tuition thereof, a greate part of the people that were inhabited in the playne countrie nighe to the Cittie, and namely men of reputacion, were fledd into that Cittie for refuge, so that at that time it was maruelouslie well peopeled.[1] In this Cittie fayled no manner of gunns, engins, artillery, or anie defensible instruments, that coulde be thought fitt or necessarie for there defence. There was maruelous plentie of gunns of euerie quantitie, bowes and arbalesters, in euerie of the walls and gates and in the streets; they wanted no armes, quarells, nor stones for ther bowes, gunns, and engins; but generally of all things that might be imagined for the defence of the Cittie and Castell, and for the preiudice of there enemies they had store aboundantlie. These Frenchmen hidd and couered vnder strawe and grasse, in the waies where Englishmen shoulde come, boordes stricken full of nayles, the points cast vpwards, to pearce and wounde both the feet of men and beasts. They also cast w^thout^ the walls manie calltrapps of iron for like purpose. In the height of the hill that was adioyninge to this Cittie was builded a Temple of S^t^ Katherine, passinge strong and defensible, wherein was laide a strong garrison for the defence of the same, and for to assist the Cittie against theire aduersaries. The cittizens hearinge the approach of there enemies, the English hoast, and fearinge least they shoulde be lodged in the Subberbs of the Cittie, w^ch^ were more large then the Cittie w^thin^ the walls, and the walls also were replenished well w^th^ Monasteries, Abbays, Churches and Towers, and goodly and stronge Edifices, burned the same Subberbs and the buildinge therein, and made them even w^th^ the grounde w^thout^ sparinge of anie thinge. To this towne at the xxx^th^ day of July this victorious Kinge approached. Against whome entered the cittizens of the Towne, w^th^ all there garrisons and men of warr, w^th^ there standards and engins borne before them. The more part of all that longe day they fought maruelouslie sore one both parties, but after longe battaile and manie wounds geuen one

Note this.

xxx^th^ day of July.

[1] for besides *to* peopeled *is an addition of the Translator.*

both parties the Frenchmen were so sore oppressed that they were constrained to seeke there succours w^th^in the walls of the Cittie,[1] where he sett and ordered the assiege in this manner. First the Kinge w^th^ a noble and chiualrous companie of young and hardy men lodged himselfe tofore the gate called S^t^ Hillaries gate.

Houbeit that ever, our English Chronicles[2] houlde opinion that the Kinge was lodged in a certaine Charter house, and that the Duke of Glocester at his comminge from the assiege of Caesarboroughe was lodged before Saint Hillaries gate, so that peraduenture both these opinions might be true. So the Duke of Glocester, as Titus Liuius reporteth, lay more neere to the Towne by xl^tie^ rodds then any of the Englishmen hoast. And by that meane it may be the Duke lay betwixt the Kinge and the gate, but to returne to our matter. Translator.

[3] After the Kinge had appointed his place to assiege, the puissant Duke of Clarence lodged tofore the gate of Caul. Titus Liuius.

The Duke of Exeter, after he came to the Kinge, was lodged w^th^ his people tofore the gate of the Castle, that is called Beauvice[4]; but this Duke was not at the beginninge of the assiege, after the report of Titus Liuius;[5] notw^th^standinge that the English Chronicles[6] rehearseth the contrarie, where he saith that the Kinge in his comminge towards Roane sent the Duke of Exeter tofore to behoulde and knowe the strenght and situacion of the Cittie; but euery man that shall reade this historie shall giue credence to w^ch^ partie he liketh best, and I shall returne to my matter begunn. Translator. A difference betweene the cronicles.

[7] The Earle Marshall was lodged tofore the gate that was called Marteuile, the Earle of Warwicke, after he was come from the stronge Castell of Donfronte,[8] was lodged vppon the hill where the stronge monasterie of Saint Catherine was: the Titus Liuius.

[1] *H. and Stow insert* whom in their recoile the King pursued still before the Citie; *there is nothing to correspond with this in Livius.*

[2] *The Brut*, pp. 387–9. [3] *Livius*, p. 61.

[4] *The* Porte Beauvoisine *was distinct from the* Castle Gate; *see further below.*

[5] *This is an error; Livius has nothing to imply that Exeter was not present; probably the Translator did not realize that Exeter's arrival in Normandy* (p. 116 *above*) *was in May.*

[6] *The Brut*, p. 387. [7] *Livius*, p. 61.

[8] after . . . Donfronte *an interpolation of the Translator, which is adopted by Stow.*

Earles of Salisburie and Huntington were lodged vppon the other side of the riuer of Seene, vppon whome there enemies made assaults, issues, and skirmishes.[1] And because the Frenchmen shoulde haue no issue of theire Cittie by the riuer, the Kinge commaunded to be purueyed certaine smale shipps apparrelled for the warr, whome he manned w^th^ part of his companie, and deputed them to restraine the Frenchmen of there libertie that they had ouer the riuer; w^ch^ vessels the Frenchmen w^th^ theire gallies often assaulted, but they were constrayned to returne in greate hast by the strenght of the Englishmen, to there greate losse and damage. And because the riuer of Seene deuided the English hoast in two parts, the Kinge caused to be made a stronge bridge of tymber ouer the same riuer, that when neede shall require they might haue free passage on foote and on horse[2] and carriage betwixt both the hoasts.

Assaultes and skirmishes.

And this bridge was finished in short time, for the Kinge caused his workmen to make maruelous greate dilligence in the makinge thereof.[3] And because there enemies shoulde not approach vnto them w^th^ theire shipps and gallies to destroy it, the Kinge caused a greate chaine to be made to be drawen over the riuer betwixt the Cittie and the bridge, by w^ch^ chayne the Frenchmen were letted from comminge to the bridge. And to th'intent his enemies comminge to the same chayne shoulde haue no libertie nor leasure to shoote gunns nor cast stones w^th^ there engins to that bridge, nor to brake the same chayne, the Kinge ordayned certaine vessells or smale shipps to lye betwext the chaine and the bridge for the defence of them both. And where[as] those shipps might not

Gallies.

Shott and gunns.

[1] *The Translator has fallen into errors similar to those which (through faulty punctuation) appear in the printed Latin text of Livius. Exeter was at the* Porte Beauvoisine; *the Earl Marshal at the* Castle; *Warwick, when he arrived, at the* Porte Martinville; *Salisbury at* St. Catherine's; *Huntingdon across the Seine before the* Barbican. *See Brut*, pp. 388–9, *and Page, Siege of Rouen ap. Collections of a London Citizen*, pp. 7–9. *The Pseudo-Elmham* (p. 180) *is clear and correct. Stow repeats the Translator's errors. Holinshed* (iii. 100) *combines Livius with the Brut, but repeats some of the errors.*

[2] *Followed to this point by Stow, who thus does not render the* et jumentis *of Livius. The rest of Stow's account of the siege is abbreviated.*

[3] *This sentence is an interpolation by the Translator, who then resumes from Livius*, pp. 61–3.

be brought to that bridge, because that the Cittie was betwixt the hauen and the bridge, the Kinge made the same vessells to be drawen from the riuer ouer the other side of the towne and by strenght of men to be brought thoroughe the fielde by lande vnto the saide bridge, where they were cast into the saide riuer for the purpose before rehearsed; w^ch^ shipps and other smale barges w^th^ oares[1] the Kinge furnished with men and ordinance for the defence of the same bridge and chaine. At that time the Kinge of Portingale, cosyn to the Kinge of England and confederate in league w^th^ him, sent a Nauie of shipps well manned into the Kinges ayde, whome the Kinge at there comminge commaunded to lie betwext the Cittie and the sea to inclose the Cittie from all comfort and succour by water. The Kinge also, because his hoast shoulde not be afflicted by famyne, caused victualles to be purveyed in England, and to be conveyed to the hoast.[2] The Abbey of Saint Katherine was also beseiged, but not so straightly but that they might resort to the ayde of the cittizens, and in like manner they of the Cittie might come to them, whereby the Kinge was longe delayed from his purpose; w^ch^ thinge when the Kinge had perceaued, as a prudent prince, in the most obscure and darke time of the night, he commaunded certen manly and stronge knights to lodge them in the waye betwixt the Cittie and the Abbey, where before day they had made them lodges of tymber and earth, defensible inoughe against there enemies; w^ch^ when the Frenchmen in the beginninge of the next day perceaued this sodaine worke, they ran thither in armes to destroy the Englishmens lodgings, and to displace the siege from that place. Where at there comminge was betwixt them a sharpe and mortall battaile. And not only that tyme, but also daylie were greate and cruell encounters and skirmishes betwixt them and that place; for the Frenchmen euidently perceaued that this manner of impediment of there resort to the Abbey shoulde turne to there greate dainger.

[1] remigio denuo, rudentibus, ceterisque navigiis opportunis paratas *Livius. The boats were drawn across the narrow neck between Moulineaux and Orival.*

[2] *A paragraph of Livius*, p. 62, *is here omitted.*

[1] Another night the Englishmen passed the ditches of the Abbey, and w^th^ ladders began to scale the walls of the same; but they were discried by the watches of the walls, w^ch^ caused all men w^th^in the Abbey to runn to there harnes and to defende the place; whereby the Englishmen, voide of there requests,[2] returned to there lodges. And after this the garrison of that place, seeinge themselues inclosed from all succours of the Cittie, concluded amongst themselues to seeke for the Kings mercie, wherevppon they entered communicacion w^th^ the Kinge, to whome they freely yealded both there bodies and there places. This most worthie Kinge, takinge vppon him the care of all his hoast, passed manie a longe wynter night w^th^out sleepe or repose. He dilligently visited the watches and stacions of euery companie. And whome he found negligent he corrected, and the dilligent he praised and rewarded. The thinge that was to be purueyed was prouided; that thing that he wanted he restored; and generally there was nothinge in the siege, but he surueyed and ordered. And because he was informed that much people of his hoast for pride[3] had sett there tents and pauillions from there fellowes, by occasion whereof they might be lightlie surprised by there enemies; and if there companie had anie neede of them there lodges were so farr that they shoulde come to late to there aide; he[4] caused to be proclaymed openly, that euerie man shoulde lodge himselfe and his companie w^th^in[5] a circute lymitted to him; and that no man shoulde presume, w^th^out the Kings lycence or commaundment, to passe that precinct. By force of w^ch^ proclamacion the Englishmen lodged themselfes more nighe together then they had before. And not longe after as the Kinge by chaunce visited the watches and wardes of his hoast, he founde two men together wanderinge w^th^out there circute lymitted, whome w^th^out delaye he commaunded to be hanged in a highe tree; by whose punishment the rest of his armie, fearinge the Kings justice, in euerie thinge after this obeyed his commaundement. And forasmuch as this armie was of great number of men, and not likely to

Marshall Justice.

[1] *Livius*, pp. 63–5.
[2] a proposito frustrati *Livius*.
[3] temeritate quadam *Livius*.
[4] they *B.*; the Kinge *H.*
[5] w^th^ *B.*; infra limitata certa loca *Livius*.

depart thence of longe time, the Kinge ordayned a market of all things requisit to be houlden and kept amongest his people. And w^th^ armed horsemen the Kinge commaunded the marchaunts and the victuallers, that resorted to that market, to be surely conveyed betwext there houses and the armie. But that notw^th^standinge the Frenchmen awayted bothe the marchaunts and there conductes to distresse them; w^ch^ sometime were so well resisted of the Englishmen, that diuers of them were taken and brought prisoners to the Kinge; and some other time the Englishmen, there victuallers and conductors, were distressed and taken of the Frenchmen.[1] The Towne of Caudebecke, fearinge the vnquietnes of the time, councelled w^th^in themselues to seeke for grace to the Kinge; and after they couenaunted w^th^ him in this manner: that when the Cittie of Roane were taken and deliuered to the Kings obeysaunce, they in like manner shoulde yealde them vnto the Kinge w^th^out abidinge assiege or assault. And vnder the same appointment accorded w^th^ the Kinge xiiij^teene^ other defensible Townes, Castells, and houldes that were nighe borderers to Roane. When that victorious Prince, the Duke of Glocester, had subdewed the Towne and Castell of Saesarboroughe to the Kinges puissaunce, he came w^th^ his hoast vnto the siege of Roane to the Kinge, of whome he was receaued right joyouslie; and by the Kinge was deputed to him a place of this assiege, wherein he indured manie assaults of his enemies; and that place was not farr from S^t^ Hillaries gate where the Kinge laye, and more nigh then vnto the walls of the Towne by fortie rodds than anie other of the hoast was lodged, insomuch as they lay w^th^in the shott of the Frenchmens quarrells. In this companie were the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord Burganie,[2] w^ch^ right manly incountered there enemies at all tymes when they made anie issues by that gate.[3] This assiege thus contynuinge, the Dolphine sent

[1] *In place of this last clause Livius has*: Alios quosdam occasionem nactos qui non procul a castello de Cnilbefe [Quillebœuf] quibusdam civibus ultra Sequanam navigantes commeatus et Anglicos milites insecuti fuerant cum maxima victoria captos ad unum omnes ad regem deducunt. *Walsingham* (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 329) *mentions this victory and gives the date as Tuesday* 16*th August.*

[2] Bergavenny.

[3] *From* and that place *is an interpolation by the Translator derived*

greate men of honnor and reuerend Bisshopps in ambassage to Caene there to treate w^th^ the Kings Councillors for peace; vnto whome the Kinge in like manner sent honnorable men and orators for his party for the same purpose; amonge whome on both parties, after manie circumstaunces of the abridginge of our matter,[1] it was concluded that the Ambassadors of the Dolphine shoulde come to the Kinge to Roane, there to treate w^th^ him for peace; and so it was done after the deliueraunce of Roane. In this meane tyme[2] the Earle of Armanake[3] was slayne at Parris by the seruants and accomplices of the Duke of Burgonie; at w^ch^ busines were also cruellie murdered and slaine manie of the same Earles seruants, not onelie men but weomen also and children. After whose death the sonn and heire of the same Earle, in purpose of reuengement of his fathers death intended by the laboure of Ambassadors to be pacified and confederate w^th^ the Kinge of England, and to become his liegeman. But that purpose shortlie euanished w^th^out takinge any effect. At this siege the Vicar-generall of the Archbisshop of Roane denounced the sentence of the excommunicacion vppon the Kinge and all his people; for w^ch^ act he after receaued this condigne reward: at the deliueraunce of the Cittie, by agreement betwixt the Kinge and the cittizens, he was deliuered to the Kinge fast bound in irons, from w^ch^ he neuer departed vntill he misserably finished his life. After manie and straight oppressions and innumerable cruell battailes and assaults, the cittizens, fearinge at lenght to be famished by default of there victualls, daylie put out of there Cittie greate multitudes of poore people, and of others that were lesse proffitable for the defence of the Towne, before anie greate penurie of meate shoulde fortune amongest them. And that they so did because those vnproffitable people shoulde not spend theire victualls that other of better abillitie and streinght shoulde lyue by. But the other of better abillitie liued by it.[4] The

The Earle of Armenak slaine at Parris.

TheKinge is excommunicated.

The Vicar fast bound in irons.

through the Brut (p. 397) *from John Page* (*Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 11).

[1] *This is apparently a misreading of the final clause in Livius*: Qua de re quum illuc venerimus plenius dicemus. *See* p. 192 *below*.

[2] *Really on 12^th^ June.* [3] Bernard, Count of Armagnac.

[4] And that . . . liued by it *an interpolation by the Translator.*

Kinge, as a wise man perceauinge there intent, first releiued those people w^th^ meate and drinke, and after returned them to the Cittie; whome the inhabitants, seeinge none other remedie to be deliuered of them, receaued them againe into the Cittie. The hunger increased daylie w^th^in the Cittie, w^ch^ at that time had bin deliuered to the Kinge, if the Duke of Burgonie, who then had the rule of Parris vnder the Kinge, had not both by his letters and by his messengers promised them succour of deliueraunce. And the same thinge also the Princes and Lords of Fraunce promised vnto them. And when those cittizens had receaued this comfort w^th^ ringinge of bells, w^ch^ tofore had not bin seene nor heard since the beginninge of the assiege, w^th^ hymnes, songes and processions, they gaue there laudes and prayses vnto God: whereof when the Kinge had knowledge, he visited euerie part thereof his hoast; and all the waies, whereby his aduersaries might come vnto his armie, he commaunded to be defenced w^th^ broade and deepe ditches, and aboue them greate and stronge towers, as blockhouses for the defence and streinght of his fielde. And the same towers, and also the walls and banks that inclosed his fielde, he fortefied w^th^ innumerable gunns and bowes, that no man shoulde inuade his hoast sodainely. And because, if peraduenture the Dolphine and the Duke of Burgoyne shoulde assault his hoast on the one partie, that they of the Cittie shoulde assault him on the other partie, he commaunded also to be cast other greate and deepe ditches, no lesse then th'other tofore, betwixt his hoast and the Towne, w^ch^ in like manner he fortefied w^th^ greate and stronge walls of earth. Thus this prudent Prince, more streightlie oppressinge the Cittie then tofore, made sufficient defences on all parts to saue his hoast from all perrills of sodaine inuasions; by meanes whereof the Cittie inualished hunger,[1] in so much that in default of other meattes they were constrayned first to devide amongest them there horses, and also there doggs, and then there catts, ratts and myse, and generally all thinges that might be gotten; and of that vile sustenance the people coulde not haue enoughe but that when all these and all other things that were comestible

The Kinge releiued his enemies.

A lightening against Thunder.

A greate famine of victualls in Roane.

[1] Civitas inde fame laborat indies magis *Livius.*

The plague in Roane.

were consumed and eaten, then the plague of famyne entered the Cittie; so that the people, for default of reliefe, in there houses dyed, in the churches, in the streets, and generally in all places. There the sonn dyed in the sight of the father, and the childe in defaulte succked the papps of the deade mother, and after dyed w^th^ her; they that there lived might skarcelie burie the bodies of the deade, what for greate number of them that were dead, and for the feeblenes of them that were lyuinge; wherefore an innumerable companie of dead bodies laye by euerie place of the Cittie, that, w^th^ the incredible plague of famyne that rayned in the Cittie, they were also inflicted and scourged w^th^ the plague of pestilence maruelouslie sore. Thus the noble Cittie was brought into so much missery that was not much lesse maruell then pittie to heare it recounted.[1]

Translator.

The Earle of Ormond canonised a fryer.

In this meane time, as I haue heard of the tofore named noble Earle of Ormonde, was in those partes an holie Fryer, and very deuout, of the order of Saint Frauncis, whose name was Vincent; w^ch^ since that time, for holie conuersacion by his life, and for the greate quantitie and multitude of miracles that God since his death had shewed and done for him, was canonized and admitted into the Catalogue of Saints. This holie man, knowinge by vulgar fame the miserie whereunto this noble cittie was brought by reason of this siege, came vnto the Kings house, where tofore the Kinge he made a deuoute sermon; and because he woulde not be impeached nor feared by lookinge on the Kinge nor none other, to say all that he had fixed in his minde vppon, he couered his visage w^th^ the hoode of his habite, and after he saide foorth his sermon w^th^ maruelous audacitie; his intent was in his sermon to reuoke the Kinge from this oppression and distruccion of the people; wherein the same sermon he often demaunded of the Kinge w^t^ he was, and if he were better then his predecessors, or better then all other kings and conquerors before his daies, that he had the hart so indurate thus to oppresse the people of

The earle of Ormond his[2] sermon before the Kinge.

[1] *The last part of this paragraph* (*from* and the childe) *is added by the Translator, from the Brut* (pp. 390–1, 400–1, *ed. Brie*). *Livius himself had used the same source; the Brut itself was derived from John Page's poem* (*Collections of a London Citizen*, pp. 15–20).

[2] *Afterwards* friers *was written above* Earle of Ormond his.

Christ; and fynallie he asked him whether he were better then our Lorde Jesus Christ, that, beinge an innocent, for the compassion of mans lynage suffered willfull passion and death, and the Kinge to the contrarie destroyeth euen Christians that had not offended him; and after that he hadd showed and saide manie exhortacions, authorities and examples correspondent to his purpose, wherew^th^ he continued and after ended his Godly Sermon, w^ch^ the Kinge deuoutlie and attentiuelie heard, and noted without anie motion of ire or anie aunswer or replicacion by him made to the Fryers demaundes as for that time, nor the time and place were not thereto conuenient. But after the sermon was ended, the Kinge commaunded the Fryer to be brought before him; to whome in open audience he saide these wordes: 'Ye asked me this day in your sermon 'what I was that thus oppressed the people of Christ's 'profession, to w^ch^ demaunde at that time it was not convenient 'to make aunswere, and therefore nowe I aunswere you this: 'I am the scourge of God, sent to punish the people of God 'for there synns.' And that aunswere made, he commaunded euerie man to avoide the chamber, except the Fryer, w^ch^ they two only were together in secret communicacion by the space of two or three howers. And when they shoulde depart, the Kinge offered to the Fryer manie greate and rich guiftes, whereof the Fryer woulde receaue nothinge; but at the Kings instance he receaued at his gifte the whole apparrell of his Altar, as well in vestments, aulter clothes, Chalice, bookes, cruettes, candlestickes and pax as in all other adornamentes, w^ch^ he put in the same chappell, where he daylie songe Masse. Then the Fryer tooke leaue of the Kinge, and when the Kinge desired him oftner to resort vnto him, he aunswered after that daie he shoulde neuer see him; and in that he saide trueth, for shortly after he returned to his Couent he was visited of God by extreame sicknes, wherein he departed from this transitorie life to God. And when he had taken his leaue of the Kinge, he came through the hall, where at that time were manie greate & noble men of the Kinges hoast, to whome this Fryer spoke in generall in this manner: 'My Lords and 'masters all, See yee that ye doe to the Kinge y^or^ Master 'dilligent and true seruice, as ye haue till nowe right well

The aunswere of the King made to the Fryer.

The kings gifte to the Fryer.

The Frier dieth in his Couent.

The Fryers

councell to the kinges Nobles and other his followers.

'done, for in your so doeinge ye shall right well please God. 'This morninge, tofore I came hether, I beleeued that the 'Kinge your Master had byn the greatest Tyrant amonge all 'other Princes Christian; but nowe I perceaue the contrary, 'for I assure you he is the most perfect and the most acceptable 'vnto God of all them that be heare present this daie, and his 'quarell is so iust and so true that vndoubtedly God is and 'shalbe his aide in all these warres.' And this saide he tooke his leaue of them all that were present and departed.[1] Then to returne to our former matter.

[2]When those cittizens of Roane perceaued themselues maruelouslie afflicted by the plague of famyne that vnmeasurably raigned amongest them, and that they were in dispayre of succoure from the Frenchmen, they accorded by there owne common assent to send vnto the Kinge of England certaine of the greatest and wisest of the Cittie apparrelled in mourninge clothes, w^ch w^th lamentable voyce shoulde obtayne the Kings mercie and grace, both for the Cittie and for themselues; who by the Kings commaundment were brought into his pauillion; and the Kinge, royally adorned and sett in his seate of Maiestie amongest the princes and lords, tarried there comminge; and when they were come to his presence, after they had obtayned lycence to speake, the chiefe of them, to whome was committed the charge of legacie, began thus to propose his message. 'Most victorious and most puissant of Kings, 'the strenght of fortune is maruelous sometime, and allwaies 'vntill nowe we were principalls and supreame heads of all 'Normandy, and ennobled w^th riches, w^th honnor, and w^th 'dignities amongest all men, and amongest all the Citties of 'Fraunce our Cittie was reputed as one of the most fortunate; 'and nowe (peraduenture for our synns) we perrish by famyne. 'Notw^thstandinge we haue suffered this ponishment for 'a good and licible cause, that is to saue and defend our oath 'to our prince accustomed. We haue eaten our horsses, our 'doggs, catts, ratts and mise amongest vs. The father seeth 'his childe and the sonne his parents daylie and howerly 'falinge and dyinge for hunger before there faces. Oh highe

[1] *On this story see* pp. xxxiv–xxxvi *above*.
[2] *Livius*, pp. 65–8.

'and mightie God, what is that greate and abhominable
'offence that hath caused this misserie amonge vs! Thou
'affirmest this countrie to descend of thee by right of inheri-
'tance, and that nowe thou wilt repeate[1] and conquere thie
'right by strenght and by armes. Truly of thie right we
'presumed to be iudges, and haue serued this Prince of Fraunce
'by manie continewed yeares; whome we thought had bin
'Lord of this countrie, but our opinion deceaued vs; and
'that we nowe euidentlie perceaue, for this miserie that nowe
'oppresseth vs, whome they accompt for theire people,
'nothinge mooueth them, nor of our paynes they haue no
'compassion; they keepe them couert in houses after the
'manner of weomen, and we perrish for hunger. We be
'constrayned, most puissant Prince, to seeke to thie clemencie
'and mercie, and if thou accomptest this for thie countrie,
'haue then mercie vppon vs thie people, and forgiue vs our
'transgressions, that nowe be vanquished and almost dead.
'And if thou wilt not so doe, but oppresse vs continewally,
'it is liefer to vs the people of Roane to perrish together by
'this our pestylence of famine then by diuers cruelties and
'torments. I feare to speake what those cruell princes of
'times past were accustomed to doe at there subdewinge of
'townes. This Cittie was the only eye of all Normandie, and
'one of the chiefe citties of Fraunce; w^ch^ if thou destroy, thou
'shalt destroy it in vs. And for vs thou intendest so much to
'followe and ensewe cruelties. Thou preuaylest by battaile
'and by armes; and our people sitteth at home in deuision
'and altercacions and after the right of weomen, and repose
'them in there pallaces in there longe gownes and furred soft;
'and generally to speake, they liue in all delights. But noble
'Prince, make thou thie victorie longe to continewe, and thou
'shalt gouerne thie people by armes and by feare. And howe
'be it thou be feared for the distruccion of Roane amonge thine
'owne people, yet the remembraunce thereof shall not feare
'the Frenchmen, as they that force nothinge of our destruccion.
'Of thee, O mightie Prince, we aske peace, we instantly pray
'for peace, we knowe the condicions of a victorious Prince to

Roane the chiefe cittie of Normandy and Fraunce.

[1] repetere *Livius*.

'be of peace,[1] w^ch we trust to be in thee, that art most pitious
'and mercifull. Thou hast vanquished vs by armes. There-
'fore most mercifull Prince, vanquish thou also thie minde
'and hart, and as thou art most puissant in armes, so giue
'thou occasion to be noted most excellent in all clemencie
'and humanitie.' After he had thus finished his oration, the
Kinge, who most constantlie had attended to his words,
nor had showed no countenaunce of displeasure, aunswered
meekelie and simplie in this manner. 'Ye cittizens of Roane,
'of them, whome ye saie in times past haue bin your Princes,
'most greate and importunate iniuries haue bine done vnto vs
'and to ours, the redresse whereof we haue asked of them
'friendly and allmost by the aduise of all Christian nacions;
'but there was no aduertisement of God nor of man, that
'might mooue them to doe vs justice. Then by the councell
'almost of all the vniuersities, of wise men, and lettered men
'on our right and iust tytle, we mooued against you warr, and
'as you see God and our iustice fauoreth vs. And as we haue
'our confidence in him he shall daily fauour vs more and
'more. We demaund nor require not other mens right but
'our owne. Ye perrish for hunger, and we neuer desired it,
'but rather that you and our Cittie shoulde prosper in wealth
'and riches; we desire rather to haue it fortunate and happie
'then oppressed in this misseries; yourselues be the cause of
'your derogation, ye be the occasion of your famyne, and that
'throughe your obstinate pride; ye yourselues haue sowed the
'seede of so manie misseries amonge you. Wherefore ye
'shall vndoubtedly make aunswere to the immortall God. O
'ye rich and principall cittizens of Roane! howe greate was
'this your presumptuous arrogancie and pride that yee chose
'rather to slea by famine an innumerable multitude of people,
'then to deliuer the Cittie to his true Prince and inhabitor?
'Or else peraduenture you take vppon you the judgement of
'my title. Knowe you not how manie Castells, Citties and
'defensible places haue bin by vs obtayned and gotten, and
'howe often from the fielde w^th victories haue wee chased our
'aduersaries? Were not these signes of justice? Or else thinke

[1] Scimus victoris esse pacis condiciones dicere *Livius*.

'yee that God intermitted not w^th^ mens causes? Surelie he is 'our true and indifferent Judge in all our actions, and ministreth 'and daily shall minister more wholie to vs the extremitie of 'justice. Therefore, ye cittizens of Roane, that our sentence 'be knowne to you; if our right be deliuered vnto us, if ye 'will be subiects to our Empire and make vnto vs due satisfac- 'cion for your trespas, our mercy shalbe ready for you, and we 'shall relieue your misseries; and if after this ye perseuere in 'good works w^th^ faithfull allegiance towards vs, we shall to the 'deseruinge of your deeds be fauorable vnto you. And in 'briefe time we trust you shall attaine to your former fortunate 'and prosperous estate. And if ye be otherwise minded our 'mercie is to be geuen to men that be penitent, and not to 'them that be obstinate.' This aunswere made, the legatts of the Cittie were lycenced of the Kinge to returne to there habitacions, where they assembled the auncient and sage cittizens and the cheftaines of the garrison to councell. To whome they made relacion of the Kings sentence. And after deliberacion amongest them taken, the same legatts by there common assent were sent againe to the Kinge w^th^ full authoritie to couenaunt w^th^ him in all things at his pleasure, so that they were releiued of there famyne; w^th^ whome after manie peticions and aunswers they fynally concluded vppon this appointment: that if the stronge and mightie power of Fraunce remoued not this siege by the [19^th^][1] day of Januarie next comminge, they shoulde deliuer to the Kinge all there Cittie, Tower, Castell, Abbeys, Churches, houses, cittizens, cheiftaines, garrisons, and all other things generallie that were within the Cittie, whatsoeuer they were; and also they couenaunted at the delyueringe of the Citty to deliuer the Kinge the vicar-generall of the Archbisshopp of Roane, w^ch^ presumptuously had denounced the sentence of excommunicacion against the Kinge, wherefore the Kinge woulde he shoulde be deliuered vnto him in bands, to doe his will of him; and so it was done. And the Kinge, when he had don and had him in possession, committed him vnto obscure prison, where he miserablie finished his daies. Translator.[2]

[1] *om. MSS.*; ante diem xiiii. Kal. Febr. *Livius.*

[2] *The text seems to be derived direct from Livius, from whom Holinshed* (iii. 105) *quotes it.*

Also vppon the same appointment was deliuered vnto the Kinge one Alame[1] Blancharde, w^ch at the Kings commaundment was put to death, but what offence he had committed against the Kinge my author maketh no mencion.[2]

Titus Liuius.

[3] And ouer these promisses and appointments these saide legatts of the Cittie couenaunted satisfaccion for theire obstinacie by a certaine day lymitted for the same to pay vnto the Kinge 300 thousand scutes of French money, whereof two scutes counteruayleth an angell noble. And after also of the deliueraunce of the Cittie the Kinge shoulde haue free libertie to builde w^thin the Cittie, or w^thin there iurisdiccion, whatsoeuer edifice or buildinge shoulde please him. And if for this newe buildinge it shoulde be necessary to breake or cast downe any other mens houses, they vnto whome those houses belonged shoulde content them w^th the due recompence of money, or anie other buildings in other places. And the buildinge that the Kinge couenaunted for at this place, after begunn at the Kings costs w^th greate and stronge foundacions, betwixt the Castell and the Riuer of Seene, where he intended to haue edified another more stronge and defencible Tower then anie that was there tofore; by helpe whereof and by the garrisons he purposed to leaue in the same, and in the Castell, his minde was rather to correct and chastice the cittizens, yf peraduenture they woulde rebell against his Ma^tie; w^ch Tower, after it was begunn, by reason of the Kings death was left vnfinished.[4] Then to returne to our matter. For the sure performaunce of these couenants the cittizens deliuered to the Kinge in pleadge xxiiij[5] other principallest of the Cittie. And when the day prefixed was come, and they not succored by the Frenchmen, they obserued there couenaunts w^th the Kinge. The gates were opened, and the most victorious Kinge w^th greate multitudes of Dukes, Earles, Barrons,

[1] Alain.

[2] but what . . . mencion *an addition by the Translator. Holinshed quotes the previous clause as from the Translator, but omits this. Blanchard had hung English prisoners from the walls of Rouen.*

[3] *Livius*, pp. 68, 69.

[4] w^ch Tower . . . vnfinished *an interpolation by the Translator. The Tower stood at the south-west corner of the city; it was afterwards known as Le Vieux Palais.*

[5] octuaginta *Livius.*

Knights, and others of the Commons entered the Cittie. And because his people shoulde not giue them to rapine nor to spoile, the Kinge first constituted certen gentlemen in euery quarter, and in euerie street of the Cittie to prohibit all iniuries and rapins to be done by the Englishmen. And that done, after he had visited the Metropolitane Church of the Towne, and had geuen praisinge to our Lord God accordingly,[1] the Kinge havinge compassion ouer the people, that were by hunger famished, aboue measure oppressed, commaunded his people, as well as his householde seruaunts, as others his souldiers, dilligentlie to puruey plentie of victualls for there reliefe, w^ch^ by there aboundance of meates restored innumerable people to health, w^ch^ before were at the entrie of death. Thus the Kings first care and laboure was to relieve the famished people. Yet notw^th^standinge for all there dilligence the hunger coulde not be assuaged, but that the Cittie xv^ene^ dayes after the Kings entry was continually vexed and greeued w^th^ death; the cause whereof was the rage of the famyne, that tofore had extreamely raged amonge them; but after xv dayes that the death was cleerelie auoided and the plague ceased, the inhabitants of the Cittie daylie recouered there former bodelie healths, and increased in sufficiencie of victualls. Then the most prudent Prince constituted there such rulers and captaines, as him seemed most beneficiall for the relief of the Cittie, w^ch^ were so dilligent in the care of the people that in short time the Cittie was reduced into there former prosperitie. The Towne of Caudebecke[2], as they before hadd couenaunted, after the deliuerie of Roane, was imediatly yealded to the Kinge; and not only that Towne but as manie as were nighe vnto Roane followed the example of it, and became subiects to the Kinge, as our English Cronicles[3] reciteth to the number of xiiij. Castells and defencible Townes. And that noble knight, Sir Guy Butler[4], chiefe ruler of the Cittie of Roane vnder the French kinge, Titus Liuius.[5]

Translator.

[1] after . . . accordingly *an interpolation by the Translator from the Brut*, p. 422 (*Page's poem*).
[2] Gaudebecke *B.*
[3] *Policronicon*, p. 230, Depe and many other towns.
[4] Guy le Bouteiller; Guydo Butilere *Livius.*
[5] *Livius*, pp. 69–70.

was sworne to be the Kings true liegeman. Certaine prelatts[1] were assigned by the Kinge to take the oathes of euerie man that woulde become the Kings liegeman ; to whome in short time came an infinit multitude of people to submitt themselues to the Kings Ma^tie^, as well Bisshopps, Abbotts and Priests of every dignitie and profession, as Lords, Knights, gentlemen, and commons of the Temporaltie, w^ch^ before were subiects to the French Kinge and the Duke of Burgonie ;[2] seeinge the daylie victories of the Kinge, whome all things followed so fortunatlie and so happelie that they beleeued all to be geuen him of God ; and trustinge also his dominacion and empire to encrease and euer to continewe, they labored and sewde vnto him to haue there olde priuiledges confirmed and approued of him. To whome that gracious Prince ratified and confirmed all theire auncient prerogatiues graunted by his predecessors accordinge to th'effect of there desire. And such articles as they had of the French Kinge or of his predecessors he vtterly repelled and dissolued. This noble Kinge the rather to relieue this oppressed Cittie ordayned his exchequer, his Treasorie, and his coynage to be kept in the same. He also edified a stronge Tower behinde the same Castell, and from the Castell to the Tower, and from the Tower to the kings Pallace, his garrison might goe in safetie, and peraduenture the sooner to restraine the mindes of the cittizens, if they conspired any insurreccion ; and for the more assurance thereof he intended to make other stronge houlds and towers betwext the saide newe Tower and Castell, and betwixt the Castell and the Pallace.[3] Whilest this most prudent Kinge prouided and ordered all things in this manner w^th^in the Cittie, he sent in the meane time diuers of his lords w^th^ stronge puissance of people to receaue the Castells and Towers borderinge vppon Roane into his dominion. Amongest whome the mightie Prince, the Duke of Clarence, in short time reduced to the Kinges power the mightie Castell of Galion[4],

[1] praefectis *Livius.*
[2] of every . . . Burgonie *an interpolation by the Translator, who does not render* qui regiis ducalibusque privilegiis potiti fuerant.
[3] and for . . . Pallace *an interpolation by the Translator.*
[4] Gaillon.

scituat vppon the Seene, the Towne of Vernon, also vppon Seene, w^ch was fortified almost w^th innumerable municions and maruelous defences, the Towne of Maunte [1], the Castell of Bandmounte [2], and manie other stronge places and holdes. The Earle of Salisburie, w^th the companie of him assigned, tooke the Towne of Hunselewe [3], the Towne of Monsieure de Villieurs [4], w^ch since the takinge of Harefleet [5] vntill this day was his greatest and next enemie; he conquered also the Towne of Ewe [6], the Towne of Gourney, the newe Castell [7], and generallie all the places in that part that was aduersaries to the Kinge.

[8] The Duke of Breton, seeinge cleerelie that the Kinge had subdued all Normandie to his empiere, by meanes whereof in as much as the daie of there Truce was nowe expired he might lightlie receaue preiudice and losse both to himselfe and to his countrie, first his safe conduct for his comminge to the Kinge and for his retourne both obtayned, the saide Duke came to Roane to the Kinge accompanied w^th vC. horses, and brought w^th him greate and rich giftes and presents. The Kinge receaued right lovinglie and friendlie, and lodged him and his at his owne costs, w^thout that the Kinge suffered him to send anie of his goods.[9] And after manie louinge and plesaunt communicacions betwixt them, at the last they condiscended vppon a condicionall truce in this manner: that neither of them, there people nor subiects, shall mooue warr against the other, his people, nor subiects; except he, that mooueth warr first against the other, cause the warr to be published w^thin six moneths after the date hereof;[10] and if no warr were published betwixt them before that day then the saide Truce shoulde endure for seauen yeares next comminge; w^ch couenauntes solemnlie established the noble

[1] Mantes.
[2] Baudemont; Bandemont *Livius*; Brandmount *Stow*.
[3] Honfleur; Hunfleue *Livius*.
[4] Montivilliers; Moster de villers *Livius*; Mounsieur de Villers *Stow*.
[5] Harfleur. [6] Eu. [7] Neufchâtel (Seine-Inférieure).
[8] *Livius*, pp. 70–2.
[9] w^thout that . . . goods *an interpolation by the Translator*.
[10] nisi per illum qui moturus sit arma prius indictum bellum ante sex menses fuerit *Livius*. *The following clause is an addition by the Translator*. *Cf. Foedera*, ix. 663.

Duke, licenced of the Kinge, returned to his countrie. The legats of Charles the Dolphine, as they had graunted at Alanson, with full commaundment and authoritie geuen to them by the same Dolphine to make an appointment of peace, as deputies to his person to confirme the same by oath, came to Roane to the Kinge, who rather desired peace w^th^ some diminishinge of his right, then to continue warr w^th^ the obtayninge of his whole inheritaunce; betwixt these legatts and such of the Councell as the Kinge deputed to treate w^th^ them of the peace, after manie offers, requests, and demaunds one both parties there vppon had, it was thus accorded: that at a certaine day appointed the Kinge shoulde be at the Cittie of Ebronce [1], and the Dolphine at the same time shoulde be at the Towne of Dreux, where by there both assents they should choose a meane place betwixt the Cittie and the Towne, wherevnto they both shoulde resorte peaceablie and at there pleasure to treate betwixt them for the peace; to w^ch^ agreement the Kinge condiscended, and for the more assurance they were reducte into writinge. And the Kinge sealed the writinge w^th^ his seale, and ouer that he bounde him selfe by his oath to obserue the same on his part w^th^out malengine or deceite.[2] And in like manner the Legatts of the Dolphine promised and affirmed by the puttinge to there seales, and also by theire oathes, in the name and for the person of the Dolphine w^th^out fraude or deceite plainelie to obserue and performe the same couenaunts. This done the Legats retourned to the Dolphine, whome they informed seriouslie of the acts and treaties; wherew^th^ he shewed himselfe to be very well content and agreeable to the same, insomuch as he approued and ratified the same writinge by the apposition of his seale, and so sealed sent the same to the Kinge, who at the appointed time, leadinge w^th^ him a noble companie of his lords and estates, tooke his journey to the aforesaide Citty of Ebroycen [3]; and at his comminge thether he sent auncient and wise men of his Councell to see where might be the most conuenient place for the meetinge of the two princes. But the Dolphine was averted from his purpose

[1] Évreux.

[2] sine dolo malo *Livius*.

[3] Évreux.

by some evill disposed people, [and][1] came not to his appointed place to meete the Kinge accordinge to his promises. Then, the peace vnreformed, the Kinge thus disappointed by the Dolphine, trustinge his aduersaries for theire deceite to haue worse fortune, departed thence and went to the Towne of Vernon to receaue it vnder his dominion w^th^ all other holdes in the circute thereof or nighe therevnto; where he solemnlie passed the time of Easter.

[2] In the vij^th^ yeare of his most victorious raigne the Kinge sent his puissant brother Humphrie, Duke of Glocester, accompanied w^th^ the Earl Marshall,[3] w^th^ a greate companie of armed men to laye siege to the Towne and Castell of Iurrie[4]. The Towne whereof after manie assaults and perilous battailes w^th^ greate strenght and manhood this noble Duke by force subdued; but the Castell whereof was so builded in an high rocke, and the waies whereby men ascended to it were so streight and crooked that to make anie assault vnto it shoulde be much more preiudiciall to the Englishmen then to the Frenchmen that kept it. Neuerthelesse the garrison that kept it was so maruelouslie wearied by continuall assaults and skirmishes, and fearinge so much the valiauntnes of the Duke, that they at the xiij^th^ daye of May yealded them to the Duke. [In the mean time the Duke][5] of Burgonie, to whome the charge of the realme of Fraunce was committed because of the infirmitie of Kinge Charles, to w^ch^ Duke also the Dolphine had restored his grace, as a wise man the rather by that meanes to defende the countrie of Fraunce, consideringe and aduisinge the power of King Henrie, and also his manie and greate victories, by letteres and messengers sought[6] peace and amitie w^th^ the most victorious kinge. And by that meanes and at the last he obtayned that the Kinge of England shoulde send his orators and wise men to the Towne

Anno Regni vij^th^ 1419.

[1] *om. MSS.* [2] *Livius*, pp. 72–5.
[3] John Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham.
[4] Ivry; Yvery *Livius*; Ivory *Stow.*
[5] *om. MSS. The copyist has clearly skipped several lines here; Livius reads*: pro rege duci deditur. Comes de Warwik castellum de Roke litoribus in Sequanae situm super omnia munitissimum obsidione, cuniculis pluribus mutuisque certaminibus affatigatis castellanis, pro rege recipit. Illustrissimus interim Princeps Johannes Dux Burgundiae.
[6] messengers and sought *MSS.*

of Prouince[1], where for that time the Kinge of Fraunce and the same Duke aboade; of w^ch^ ambassage the noble Earle of Warwicke, chosen as principall and chiefe by th'assent of the vniuersall Councell,[2] accompanied w^th^ two hundred horses of chosen men, entred his journey towards Prouince. In w^ch^ journey a much greater companie of Frenchmen of the Dolphins confederacie were embushed by the way to disturbe his journey and to dissolue this communicacion of peace. To whome when the Earle approached they brake that ambushment and ran vppon the Englishmen. This noble Earle, though his companie were not to be compared to the number of his aduersaries, commaunded the people to discend from theire horses and stronglie to resist there enemies. Then the Englishmen assailed so impetiouslie there aduersaries, that by strenght and manhood they obtayned the victorie of them, and tooke of them more prisoners then they were themselues in number; w^ch^ prisoners the Earle sent vnto the Kinge, himselfe contynewed forth his journey towards Prouince. And when he was come to Kinge Charles and to the Duke of Burgonie,[3] he and all his companie were noblie receaued, as the Ambassadours of so greate and noble a Prince, and were there cured of theire wounds that they had receaued in there journey aforesaide, and were also releiued of theire displeasure by faire words and by rewards, as much as by the Frenchmen might be done; at the last, after they had obtayned lycence to propose the cause of there legacie, after manie perswasions and motions on both parties they accorded on this manner: that a certaine time, there to be lymitted, the Kinge of England, and the Kinge of Fraunce w^th^ the Queene Isabell, his wife, and the Duke of Burgoyne[4] shoulde meete together at a place ascertained there to treate of peace; for w^ch^ couenaunts plenallie to be concluded the Earle of S^t^ Poul,[5] and the sonn and heire of the Duke of Burboyne,[6]

[1] Provins.
[2] Comes Warwik, auctoritate, virtute, consilioque peroptimus, bello vero strenissimus *Livius.*
[3] Burbone *MSS.*; serenissimum Johannem ducem Burgundiae *Livius.*
[4] Burboyne *MSS.* [5] Philip, Count of St. Pol.
[6] Charles de Bourbon, *son of Jean, the Duke of Bourbon, who was taken prisoner at Agincourt.*

w^th many other Ambassadours, after they had obtayned of the Englishmen suertie for there safe passage, came to the Kinge of Englande; after he was seriouslie aduertised of all there aduertisments and appointments both by his owne Ambassadors, and also by the[1] Lords of Fraunce, he thus condiscended w^th his aduersaries: that at the xxx^th day of May he shoulde be at the Towne of Maunt[2] and of Alaunte, and Kinge Charles w^th the Queene, his wife, and the Duke of Burgonie[3] shoulde be at the same time at Ponteise[4]; and there indifferent place where they shoulde meet shoulde be the Towne of Millans[5] by the Seene, and most apt and convenient for that purpose; to w^ch meane place neither of the saide parties shoulde come accompanied w^th more then two thousand and five hundred men; in the meane season shoulde be truce and respecte of warr betwext the two kings and theire people. Incontinent vppon this appointment all the Townes were apparrelled for the receauinge of so greate Princes. The meane place betwext the other two, where they shoulde meet, was appointed betwext two riuers, wherein no man shoulde enter but such as were necessarie for the peace to be treated on. And on that side that was towards the Riuer of Seene the Englishmen fixed there tents and pauillions maruelouslie imbordered w^th signes and semblances of Lillies and of Roses[6], and of other signes of all goulde; and on th'other side of the place the Frenchmen raysed there tents, so that the apparaunce of the tents was in sight to bee compared to a right fayre Cittie; and betwext those too riuers was erecte the pauillions of the two Kings, wherein those Princes w^th there Councell might surely and at good leisure w^thout impediment treate those things that shoulde concerne the peace. And [that] the dignitie and due honnour of euerie Kinge shoulde be kept,[7] they fixed a post in the midle of the same place, where and no further either Kinge shoulde meete

[1] his *B.*; Karoli legatis *Livius*.
[2] Mantes; 'and of Alaunte' *is an erroneous addition peculiar to B.*
[3] Burboyne *MSS.* [4] Pontoise. [5] Meulan.
[6] Roses *is a fancy of the Translator; Livius has* pulcherrima cum auro plurima liliis, leopardis. *The Rose did not become a royal badge till much later.*
[7] colloquiis possent. Et ut utriusque regis dignitas servaretur . . . palus *Livius*.

other. These things dilligently done, at the daie appointed the Kinge of England, accordinge to his promise, came to the Towne of Maunte, accompanied of the most wise and expert men of all lawes, as well spirituall as temporall, both Bisshopps and others,[1] w^ch^ were worthie able Councellors for so greate a cause; and besides them he hadd also in his companie two thousand five hundred men of armes, in harneys couered aboue there armours w^th^ garments intertexed and wouen w^th^ goulde and siluer, maruelous, beauteous and rich. Kinge Charles of Fraunce, at his day appointed, came not accordinge to his promise, for at that time he was troubled w^th^ his accustomed infirmitie; but the Queene, his wife, w^th^ the Duke of Burgonie, w^th^ manie other noble men of the Kings bloode and of the Dukes, accompanied w^th^ two thousand five hundred men of armes, came to Ponteise in performinge of there promise. And shortlie after both these two parties mett at there indifferent places that was assigned for them. Where the Kinge at there meetinge kissed first amyeablye the Queene, and after the Ladye Katherine, her daughter, w^ch^ was not done w^thout some shamefastnes of that virgin; and then they, w^th^ the Duke of Burgonie and all other estats there[2] beinge present,[3] entered the pauillion, where they shoulde treate of this longe desired peace. Amonge whome it was proposed and mooued, and [4] what offers and requests were made, because theire treate attained to no good ende, shall at this time passe vnrehearsed; but almost all the first daie, and the xiij^th^ day of June,[5] they were contynually debatinge and seekinge some meane of peace w^thout anie thinge concludinge. The saide xiij^th^ of June,[5] the Kinge commaunded all his people to stand in array w^th^ there banners, standards, and other ensignes displayed tofore the banks of the riuer [6] w^thout the aforesaide close place, wherein they had holde there councell. And at w^ch^ things not onlie the Frenchmen but also the Englishmen were admaruelled, nor

[1] aliis sacerdotibus *Livius*. [2] they *B*.

[3] tunc et Burgundiae dux cum omni observatione Principi Dominae porrecta dextera, simul et rex cum puella et reliquis *Livius*.

[4] totum fere diem Kal. Junii, sic et diem Nonarum itidem ad Idus *Livius*.

[5] Idibus *Livius*. [6] prae fossarum littoribus *Livius*.

noe man knewe what betokeneth this ordinance of the Kinge. Then at the xvjth daye of June, when these princes mett at there accustomed councell, the Kinge commaunded to giue to all the people that resorted to that place so greate aboundance of delicate meate, that both Englishmen and Frenchmen helde themselues maruelouslie well feasted; nor at that time it was not surelie knowne whether peace or warr shoulde ensue vppon there treatie; nor by all that part of the moneth of June, by w^{ch} time those two princes continewed there councell, was not determined the certaintie thereof. At this time sounded and rose vpp a rumour amonge th'englishmen that the Dolphin labored to disturbe and let the reformacion of this peace. But that rumor notwthstandinge, the Kinge continewed by treatie trustinge to finde the way of peace, w^{ch} was semblable enoughe had not the Dolphine blandished and laboured the Duke of Burgonie by letters and by messengers wth manie faire promisses and behests, that neither the Duke, nor none of his adherents, nor anie of his friends shoulde studie nor assent to the makinge of no manner of peace betwixt the two Kings. To whose desire the Duke condiscended, w^{ch} after was occasion that he was slayne in the Dolphins presence against his oath and promise.[1] And the thirde day of July, when they shoulde haue met againe, the Kinge came to that place where they had houlden there councell before, where the Frenchmen appeared none, neither the Queene, nor the Duke, nor none of the Frenchmens Councell; whereby it was evident to all men that this peace was left vnreformed, not in the default of the Kinge of England, but in default of the Frenchmen. And so of all that meetinge and councell ensued nothinge that is worthie of report, except the flame of Loue some deale fired the hart of this Martiall Kinge to the sight of this younge Virgine Catherine, daughter to the Kinge and Queene of Fraunce.

[2] Imediatly after the dissoluinge of this communicacion, by the mediacion of manie greate Lords the Dolphine and the Duke of Burgonie met together at Millan[3] wth all there Enguerunt.

[1] *The Translator glosses his original.* Quod impetratum causa fuit ut hiis in per maximum dolum et contra fidem datam a Delphino crederetur *Livius.* [2] *Monstrelet,* iii. 322. [3] Melun.

puissance and streinght, where in a fielde [1] nighe vnto Millan was agreed and sworne betwext them a perpetuall peace; after w^ch peace affirmed they both returned into there cuntries in purpose to make there preparacion for the resistance of the Englishmen. [2] Whilest these things were thus a doeinge, manie of the cittizens of Roane attempted to rebell against the Kinge; whereof when the Kinge had first knowledge, he sent thether many of his Lords and Knights, w^ch dilligentlie enquired of those rebells, whome when they found as justice required, they were punished by loosinge of theire heads, by whose death the Cittie was deliuered of this coniuracion and conspiracie. And this done, they that were sent returned to the Kinge. The xxx^th day of July this most victorious Prince caused to be proclaymed thoroughe all his places and countries that w^th his enemies was no truce but that the warr shoulde be open as it was before. And because his minde was [not][3] only inclosed in Normandie the Kinge desired to haue the Towne of Ponteys,[4] by w^ch if it were taken he might haue the more suer and easie passage to Parris, the principall and chiefe Cittie of all Fraunce, nor from thence to Parris was no river that might trouble his journey.[5] And vppon this deliberacion first had, he elected out of his hoast certaine knights and men of warr to enterprise that feate, of whome he made two parties; and the first part w^th skalinge ladders in there hands, maruelouslie artificiall, he made and he sent out of the Towne of Maunte [6] at after noone, w^thout shewinge to any man, there captaine only excepted, what there purpose shoulde be, because there enemies shoulde haue no knowledge thereof. And when this companie was departed the Towne, the Kinge commaunded the gates of the Cittie to be inclosed, and so to be kept that no man shoulde passe the walls, to the end that by no meanes there aduersaries shoulde be aduertized of there enterprise. Tofore there de-

Mutiners in Roane beheaded.

[1] *At Pouilly-le-Fort.* [2] *Livius*, pp. 75–7.

[3] *om. MSS.*; quoniam et ejus animus in sola Normannia non occluditur *Livius.*

[4] Pontoise.

[5] *At this point Stow, who had omitted the account of the Meulan Conference, resumes his use of the Translator, though in an abbreviated form.*

[6] Mantes.

partinge the Kinge had instructed his captaine[1] of that companie the manner of theire inquest in this manner: that in the most wisest and in secret possible they shoulde approach the walls of Pontoys in the most obscure and darke time of the night; and if peraduenture they might perceaue the watches at that time negligent and faultey, then when they shoulde see the time most convenient for there purpose they shoulde skale the walls, and by that meanes take the Towne. When this companie was departed the Towne of Maunte, the Kinge sent a greate companie in the aide of the first, of whome he made conductor the Earle of Huntington[2]; and this companie he sent out of Maunte in the beginninge of the night; and as soone as they were departed the Towne the gates were fast inclosed againe, and after that they were not opened vntill th'ende of this enterprise was knowne. The first of these two companies at the entrie of the night was come nighe into Pontoys, where in a wood they left there horsses, least by there noyse and brayinge they shoulde be discouered; and that done, in the most darknes of the night they went on foote vnto the ditches of the Towne, w^ch^ then were dry and w^th^out water; where part of them lay in the banke of the ditches w^th^ there ladders in ther hands ready to skale the walls, when time shoulde be; and the residue hidd them in the vynes that were nighe vnto the walls, where they might be ready soonest to enter the Towne, at the openinge of the gates, to assist there companie.[3] Thus they passed that night w^th^out makinge any manner of noyse, for feare to be perceaued of there watches of the Towne, w^ch^ all that night were passinge dilligent, vntill it was toward daye, that as they were accustomed at th'entrie of the daye they chainged there watches, to th'intent that they that watched by night shoulde rest by day; at this watches of the night at the chainge of it the walls were left w^th^out watches for the tyme.[4] Then the Englishmen, w^ch^ slept not, seeinge time

[1] Gaston de Foix.

[2] *One MS. of Livius leaves the name blank, another has* comitem Warewicke; *the Pseudo-Elmham* (p. 228) *has* quendam comitem. *Walsingham* (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 330) *gives* Huntingdon, *which is correct.*

[3] where they . . . companie *an interpolation by the Translator, adopted by Stow.*

[4] Advenit ipsa dies, mutantur excubiae, quo fit ut custodibus deserta moenia maneant *Livius.*

to accomplish there intent, raysed theire ladders and scaled the walls, and by that meanes entered the Towne; where some of them, imediatly after they were entered, brake the gate of the Towne and made entrie to the rest of there companie; and others attended to the sleying of there aduersaries that resisted there entrie.[1] When the inhabitants and garrisons of the Towne had first perceaued the sodaine entrie of there enemies, as men amazed for feare they returned into flight; but not longe after, when they sawe the Englishmen of so small number, some deale incouraged they armed them, and all at one assault assayled there enemies; whome by reason that they were so vnequall by number, that some of them oppressed in such manner tooke towers of the walls and mightely stoode in them at there defence, some others leapt the walls into the ditches, and hidd them amonge the vynes;[2] and generally they had left the gate so broken that the Frenchmen in short time coulde not make purueyance to close it againe. At this time the aforesaide Earle of Huntington, w^th^ his company that also pursued the same enquest, was approached so neere the Towne that he plainelie might heare the noyse of those two parties when they fought, at the hearinge whereof he w^th^ all his companie gaue his spurrs to there horsses, and hasted them to the succour of there first companie, that were w^th^in the Towne vppon the walls and in the Towers, and also they that were hidd in vyne yards apperceiued as men all recomforted, assembled themselues together and came to theire aduersaries more ardently then before;[3] and to the contrarie the Frenchmen, as all discouraged and in dispaire to saue the Towne, at the sight of these newe rescues that came to th' Englishmen, leavinge behinde them all theire riches and substance, endeuored themselues to escape this perrill by flight. And so the Towne of Pontoyse auoyded of all Frenchmen, was left free to the Englishmen. When the certen knowledge thereof was come to the Kinge, the most devoute Prince to

[1] where some of them . . . entrie *an interpolation by the Translator, adopted by Stow. It comes from Monstrelet*, iii. 332–3.

[2] multi mortis metu e muris in fossas desiliunt *Livius.*

[3] Ecce comes cum reliquis suis laborantibus subsidium audito tumultu citatissimis equis ad oppidum tendit, quem ut videre laeti magis ardenter pugnant Anglici *Livius.*

God, he assembled such bisshopps and other of the spiritualty as he had at that time w^th^ him, w^th^ whome w^th^ his temporall lords, estats, with greate joy giuinge thanks to the immortall God he went in procession aboute the Towne of Maunte, the clergie in right greate devocion singinge this himme, Te Deum laudamus &c. Briefelie after this enterprise thus atchiued, this most victorious Kinge w^th^ all his companie went to the Towne of Pontoys, where he aboad by a certen time; from whence, there in the time of his journey,[1] he sent the most excellent Duke of Clarence, his brother, w^th^ a chosen power to Parris, the principall and chiefe Cittie of all Fraunce, to beholde and viewe the scituacion and strenght of it; before w^ch^ Cittie when this Noble Duke had tarried the space of certaine daies and had seene and perceaued all that liked him, seeinge that none of the Frenchmen woulde issue out of the Cittie to fight with him, and wearied w^th^ his long abidinge there, hee returned to the Kinge, and acertained him of all that he hadd seene.[2]

The Duke of Clarence commeth before Parris.

[3] At the xviij^th^ day of August that noble and puissant Kinge departed from Pontoyse w^th^ all his armye, after he had deputed to the same captaines and garrisons as he thought necessarie. And because the Castell of Rokinvilliers[4] had done certaine inhumayne cruelties in the Kings lands that borderedd there abouts, in intent to represse there mallice the Kinge lodged himselfe not farr from that Castell, and from his lodges he sent certaine companies to assault and also to assiege the same Castell, where both the inhabitants and garrisons feared so much the Kinge, [that],[5] as men desperate of all succoure, they yealded to the Kinge the Castell and all the goods and substaunce that were w^th^in the same; and at the instance of a noble Lady of those parts all the inhabitants w^th^out there goods, and the garrisons w^th^out there armors, were suffered peaceablie to departe. Then all the Townes, Castells,

[1] post nonnullos alios [*sc.* dies] *Livius.*

[2] ubi per aliquantum temporis invitis civibus et qui regebant illos cum permansisset hostiliter expectationis longae taedio, licet obvium cum armis nullum conveniret, ad regem revertitur *Livius.*

[3] *Livius*, pp. 77–8.

[4] Vauconvilliers; Bokyndevillers, *or* Rokinvillers *Livius*; Bokinuillers *Stow.*

[5] *om. MSS.*

and houlds w^th^in a greate circute, hearinge of the deliueraunce of the same Castell, w^th^out abydinge battaile, assaulte, or siege, desyringe rather to liue vnder the Kings obeysance then to proue the chaingeable fortune of warr, yealded them to the Kinge. But that stronge and mightie Towne of Guysours [1], whereof also the Castell is more defensible then the Towne, woulde not submit him to the Kinge. This Towne was enviroued w^th^ dubble walls, and defensible with greate and broade fenns, w^th^ marshes instead of ditches.[2] Towards this Towne the last day of August the Kinge w^th^ all his companie tooke his journey, w^ch^ he inclosed with his tents and pauillions; but that was farr from the Towne, for at his first comminge the fenns and marshes woulde not suffer him to approach the Towne.[3] At the Kinges cominge betwixt him and the Towne were manie greate and sharpe battells and assaults; but at all times the Englishmen, w^ch^ everie daye approached neere to the Towne, putt the Frenchmen to flight, and made them to recoile w^th^in the walls. No strenght of theire enemies, no gunns, nor engins, nor arbalasters, nor bowes, nor stroakes, nor woundes might make the Englishmen giue place to there enemies: wherefore at the last the garrisons and inhabitants of the Castell and Towne thinkinge it follie longe to resist so greate a victor, and so invincible strenghts and powers, alltogether w^th^ one consent accorded to treate of peace. And w^th^ the Kinge thus they couenaunted, that if the Towne were not deliuered from this perrill by the eight of September, and the Castell, because it was much more of strenght and defence then the Towne, by the xxiiij^th^ [4] of the same moneth, they shoulde deliuer them freely both to the Kinge; and when those daies lymitted was come and no succours of the Frenchmen appeared, they of the Towne and of the Castle obserued there couenaunts w^th^ the Kinge; and the most parte of the garrisons and of the inhabitants of the Towne (first geuinge to the Kinge there oath) remained continually vnder the Kings obeysance; and the men of warr receaued of him wages to defend the Towne from his aduersaries, and to keepe it to his vse.

[1] Gisors.
[2] maximis non modo fossis sed irriguis valde paludibus *Livius*.
[3] but that . . . the Towne *an interpolation by the Translator*.
[4] *The Translator follows the better reading* viii. Kal. Octobris.

MINET PUBLIC

[1]In the meane time the Dolphine assembled an hoast of xx. thousand men at Monstrean and Francyon[2] in purpose to fight w^th^ the Englishmen. And for the same by letters signed w^th^ his hand he sent to Troys in Campaigne[3] for the Duke of Burgoine, desiringe him to haue his companie in this journey. Att whose request the same Duke, incontinent vppon the sight of his letters and vppon the suertie of the Dolphins oathes safelie to come and safelie to goe, came vnto him at the place aforesaide; where notw^th^standinge his former oath and promise, against both Gods Lawes and mans lawes he caused him most cruellie to be murthered. And after his death the Dolphins servaunts dispoyled him of his aray, and cast his bodie naked in a vile stagne or pitt.[4] Whose sonn and heire, Phillip the Duke of Burgoine, after he had knowledge of his tyrannie, councelled herevppon w^th^ all his subiects, freindes and alies, and after good deliberacion taken he determined by messengers to seeke the grace and fauour of this most victorious Prince, the Kinge of England. And for that purpose the most auncient and prudent orators, that then were in Parris, aswell of them that belonged to the Kinge of Fraunce, as to the Duke, were sent to the Kinge of Englande to the saide Towne of Guysours. Of whome at there cominge these ambassadors desired a truce and respit of warr, that at there convenient leasure they might treate of peace and mooue some appointment betwixt the Kinge of England and of Fraunce and the aforesaide Duke of Burgoine. The Kinge receaued these ambassadors very benignlie, and feasted them, and rewarded them much liberallie. And when he hearde the intent of there message, he refused not the communicacion of peace, for aboue all things he desired it; but to the delayes of his warr he woulde in no wise assent. And as to the Duke of Burgoine he promised him easelie to obtaine his grace and fauour, if w^th^ good works he woulde

Enguerunt.

The Duke of Burgoine murthered by the Dolphine.

[1] *Monstrelet*, iii. 338–47; *adopted by Stow.*

[2] *A misrendering of* Monstereau où Fault-Yonne; Monstrex & Faulcien *Stow.*

[3] Troyes en Champagne.

[4] *With this sentence the Translator resumes from Livius* (pp. 78–81). *Monstrelet* (iii. 347) *says the Duke was stripped* excepté son pourpoint et ses houseaulx, *and buried in the church of Notre-Dame.*

seeke it ; but for that in the meane time he woulde not desist from the continuance of his conquests. Then the ambassadors takinge this for an aunswere departed from the Kinge and returned to Parris.[1] After whose departure the Kinge w^th^ all his noble armie returned to Maunte [2], where of his hoast he made three battailes, whereof he then deliuered to that noble Prince the Duke of Glocester, whome he sent to subdue vnto his Empire that stronge Towne called Saint Germains, w^ch^ after manie battailes, assaultes, and skirmishes, in short time was yealded to him for the Kinge ; and the second battaile he sent to the Castle of Mount oye [3], w^ch^ in like manner fearinge the Englishmens prowesses yealded them vnto the Kinge ; and w^th^ the third of the said battailes the Kinge in his owne person went to assiege Millane [4], w^ch^ aboue all other was most stronge and almost impregnable. The scituacion of this Towne was in a plenteous isle betwext two armes of the Seen [5]. No man might approach so nighe this Towne, as to assault it by land, but only by the bridge, and by water no vessels might come vnto it for the multitudes of piles that were fixed and hidd in the riuers. This Towne was also defended w^th^ highe and stronge walls, w^th^in it also were people of greate number, aswell of th'inhabitants, as of the garrisons of men of warr that were purposelie deputed for the defence of the Towne. This mightie Kinge, consideringe in euerie thinge the streinght and defence of this place, w^ch^ by land was inaccessible except onlie by the bridge, assembled diuers shipps and other smale vessells, wherein by right greate laboure he first auoyded and clensed the riuer of the aforesaide piles and stakes ; [6] and this done, he made all the aforesaide vessells to be fastened together w^th^ chaines, and then he commaunded to be made certaine smale castells and turretts of tymber, w^ch^ when they were finished he intended to bringe by streinght of men in those shipps to the Towne, and in them to assaile the walls ; but the inhabitants and garrisons of the Towne were so feared at the sight of those turretts, that

[1] *This sentence is interpolated by the Translator.*
[2] Mantes. *Stow reproduces this narrative exactly.*
[3] Montjoye. [4] Meulan.
[5] Sea *MSS. and Stow* ; Sequanae *Livius.*
[6] wherein . . . stakes *an interpolation by the Translator.*

before they were all finished by there assent they sent the captaines to the Kinge to treate of peace w^th^ him, w^ch^ was graunted them vppon this condicion: that if they were not rescued by the last daie of October from this assiege by the Frenchmen, they shoulde freely deliuer this stronge Towne to the Kinge. And when this day was come and no succour sent vnto them, the Towne, as was couenaunted, was deliuered to the Kinge; the garrisons whereof were suffered to goe peaceablie where they woulde; and the more part of th'inhabitants were sworne to be true liegemen to the Kinge, and were suffered to continewe in the Towne. When these three stronge places were yealded thus to his Ma^tie^, the King returned to Maunt againe, where he gaue not himselfe to rest and sloth but w^th^ maruelous solicitude and dilligence he laboured continuallie. For almost no day passed but he visited some of the holds, Townes, and places, and of euerie thinge that they needed he instored. He ordayned in all parts sufficient garrisons for theire defence. He victualled them. He repaired there Castells, Towers, and walls. He clensed and skoured there ditches, and generallie all things that coulde be thought necessarie he purveyed for them.[1] At this time returned to the Kinge to Maunte the wise ambassadours of Kinge Charles, of the Duke of Burgoine, and of the Cittie of Parris, to treate of there longe desired peace. But because the Kinges minde was all intentiue to the arts of warr, and that he thought they would not inclyne them enoughe to the waie of peace (notw^th^-standinge that they had often desired it) there treatie at that time attayned to none effect. Wherefore, as frustrate of theire purpose, they returned to them from whome they were sent, and the Kinge on his parte attained to his warrs. After so manie conquests of the Englishmen the Castell of Galliard[2] hauinge confidence in his maruelous streinght did manie cruelties and displeasures to the Kings places, that were borderers vnto it;[3] of the Castell the situacion was such: it was

[1] *For all these details Livius has simply*: auxilio decretisque suis subsidium afferens. *Stow passes on from the siege of Meulan to the dispatch of Exeter to Château Gaillard.* [2] Château Gaillard.

[3] Erat et aliud castellum quod Normanni de Gaillard nominant. Quia sibi munitissimum videbatur contra regis propinquas terras incolentes hostilia multa violenter inferebat *Livius*.

edified vppon the Riuer of Seene vppon the topp or height of an inaccessible hill, enuironed w^th^ maruelous high and thicke walls; and w^th^in it was replenished w^th^ men not most expert and apt for warr, but they had good experience in Geometrie and carpentrie,[1] and coulde right well deuise and make engins and slinges, both for theire owne defence and also for the anoyaunce and distruccion of theire aduersaries. They had also w^th^in the Castle as innumerable gunns and other nesessible engins of euerie fashion and quantitie; there wanted nothing that might be thought needfull for a stronge place; they had aboundance of victualls, and of other things necessarie for the bodie and proffitable of theire life. All w^ch^ things notw^th^standinge, they were seriouslie brought to the knowledge of the most inuincible Kinge. Neuerthelesse he sent his vnckle, the Duke of Excester, w^th^ a stronge power to lay seige vnto it; who imediatlie by the Kings commaundment enuironed the walls thereof w^th^ tents and pauillions, and inclosed the Frenchmen from all issue; w^ch^ vppon the Englishmen made manie assaults and cruell skirmisshes, but at all times they were constrayned to recoyle them w^th^in the walls. The Englishmen were wearied w^th^ no assaultes of theire enemies. Wherefore the castelines perceauinge[2] almost by the siege of vij months th'Englishmen coulde not be wearied w^th^ anie labour, but that euery day they were more prompt and ardent, and more coragious in there inquests then other, and that all the Townes and Castles, there neighbours, were yealded vnto the Kinge, assembled them together and concluded amongest themselues what was to be done herevppon. And after longe deliberacion, as they that were in dispaire of anie ayde of the Frenchmen, and knewe the constancie of the Kinge in assieginge of houldes, w^ch^ for no occasion might be mooued from any assiege vntill the attayninge of his enterprise, and fearinge if they shoulde longe continewe in there contumacie they shoulde not fynde grace when they woulde, at the xx^th^[3] daie of December they yealded them to the Duke for the Kinge.

[1] *The rendering of the Translator is incorrect*: Viros praeterea multos non modo strenuos, sed et arte geometrica peritos *Livius*.

[2] proceedinge *MSS.*; Quod animadvertentes obsessi *Livius*.

[3] v. Idus Decembris (9^th^ Dec.) *Livius*; octavo die Decembris *Pseudo-Elmham*, p. 243.

[1] Then presentlie was entered the feast of the Natiuitie of our Lorde, w^ch^ solemnitie and all the accustomed daies of the same the most deuout Kinge deliberated to hallowe in the Cittie of Roane. And because whilest he was geuen to deuocion, by the intermission and respite of warr his enemies shoulde not be encouraged to euell, he constituted certaine captaynes to restraine there mallice and to suppresse there power in the meane time. Of w^ch^ captaines the Earle of Salisbury, whome he sent to take the Toune of Frensny [2], was one. The inhabitants whereof and also the garrisons, at the Earles first comminge, issued asperly vppon the Englishmen; but after a short time they were soone wearied of there laboure, in so much that for the paine of there trauell and for the feare of the English power they yealded them to the saide Earle for the Kinge. The noble Earle Marshall and the Earle of Huntington was sent by the Kinge to subdue to his empire the prouince of Shenon [3], where the Dolphine had deputed a greate captaine w^th^ a stronge power of menn of warr to resist the English inuasions; w^ch^ captaine, when he was aduertised of the comminge of these two Earles, in greate hast mett them w^th^ his power and gaue them battaile, where they fought longe and maruelouslie cruell on both parties. But the Englishmen, as they that feared not the death for the recouerie of the Kings right, excelled so farr the Frenchmen in there valyantnes, that they remayned conquerors in the fielde and put theire aduersaries to flight, of whome they first slewe manie, and manie they maymed [4], and of them also they tooke prisoners to a greate number. Thus these two noble Earles, victors of the fielde, subdewed vnder the Kings empire the province of Shenon w^th^out anie other greate resistance of the Frenchmen, or anie other acts of warr that are to be recounted. Whilest for these things and manie other victories the Kinge perseuered [5] in the Cittie of Roane laudinge and honnoringe the sole Creator and redeemer of the worlde, the Legats of

[1] *Livius*, pp. 81, 82.

[2] Fresnay-le-Vicomte *in Maine*. Fresveysins *or* Freiny *Livius*; Fresea *Stow*.

[3] Maine; Cenomannia provincia *Livius*; Shenon *Stow*.

[4] mayned *MSS*.

[5] Whilest these and many other victories were atchiued, the King continuing *Stow, who afterwards follows the Translator very closely*.

Kinge Charles and of the Duke of Burgonie came againe to the Kinge to Roane to treate of peace. Where of the Kinge they were right honnorablie receaued; and because he woulde not be noted to be th'occasion of warr, and the distruccion of the country, he sent w^th^ them to the Kinge of Fraunce and the Duke of Burgonie his ambassadors w^th^ full authoritie to conclude this longe sought peace. Of w^ch^ ambassadors the principall was the Earle of Warwicke, who the Kinge knewe well to be maruelouslie wise and apt both for peace and warr. And in his companie sent also certaine Bisshops and diuers other discreet and wise men. This ambassage was first brought to the Duke of Burgonie, because he was next vnto them and not much out of there right waie; whose armie[1] in this journey tooke diuers houldes and places that were pascefied and confederate w^th^ the Earle of Arminake[2], who fauored the Dolphins partie, and gaue his consent to the death of John the late Duke of Burgoine; and thus they continewed there journey vntill they came to the Cittie of Troys, where they founde Kinge Charles of Fraunce, and the Queene his wife, and that beauteous Ladie Katherine there daughter. And after not manie dayes of respite they entred communicacion of peace w^th^ the Kings Councell of Fraunce; in w^ch^ communicacions, after diuers and manie motions on both parts made, the waie of peace was founde betwext these two Kings by alyance. That is to say by a marriage to be made betwixt the most victorious Kinge of England and dame Katherine daughter to the Kinge and Queene of Fraunce; but because they perceaued manie things that conueniently might not be concluded w^th^out the presence of the Kinge, as well of the apposicion of there seales for the ratefiinge of the same articles for this peace, as for the solemnitie of the matrimonie, and also for that Kinge Charles was a man of manie yeares and was often troubled and vexed w^th^ his accustomed infirmitie, they condiscended one both parties that the Kinge of Englande at a certaine day amongest them lymitted shoulde come to the aforesaide Trois, w^th^ as greate an armed power for the sauefgard of his person as [he][3] woulde, [to][3] ratefie and

[1] una cum ducis exercitu *Livius*. [2] Armagnac.
[3] *om. B.*; as he coulde and also to performe *H.*

also to performe the saide couenaunts of peace. And at w^ch^ daie appointed if he fayled to be there, all this communicacion and mocions of peace shoulde be voide. And because in the meane way whereby the Kinge shoulde come were two stronge bridges, ouer w^ch^ of necessitie he must passe: that is to say Charingdon[1] and Nogent[2]: at w^ch^ places the Kings iourney might lightly be impeached and let, both the saide bridges were freelie deliuered into the gard of the Englishmen. Theise things thus concluded, couenaunted, and reduced into writinge, that noble lorde w^th^ his companie retourned to there most victorious Master, the Kinge; to whome he declared all things by order as they were graunted and accorded; who rather affectinge peace then battaile (not w^th^ standinge he was most victorious and fortunate in his conquests) was content in all things to performe that appointment. Wherefore he prepared for his journey; he sent from diuerse his Castells, Citties and Townes for certaine number of his knights and men of warr, whose comminge he abode at [Pontoyse][3]. His people were the number of xvj thousande,[4] of whome the more part were archers; [whome when they],[5] were come vnto him, he commaunded to be lodged in there tents and pauillions in the fielde w^th^out the Towne;[6] and when the time was come that he woulde depart towards Trois[7] for the accomplishment of there couenaunts, as he was accustomed, he deuided the people in three parts and battailes, and two wings; and in that manner the viij^th^ day of May, in the viij^th^ yeare of his most victorious raigne, he entered his journey towards Trois. Anno Regni viij.

[8] In the journey he passed by the Towne of S^t^ Dennis, and by Parris, the Metropolitaine Cittie of all Fraunce, before w^ch^ cittie in a faire playne and large fielde he sett his battailes in arraye, as if he shoulde haue foughten w^th^ the Cittizens of the Enguerunt.

[1] Charenton, *on the Marne.* [2] Nogent-sur-Seine.
[3] *Blank in MSS.*; ad oppidum Pontoise *Livius.*
[4] *Livius does not give the number, which is taken from Monstrelet* (iii. 388) et seize mille combatans ou environ, dont il y avait la plus grande partie archers.
[5] *om. MSS.*
[6] *A gloss by the Translator; Livius has simply,* ex oppido in agros suos omnes educit.
[7] Troyes.
[8] *The reference to Monstrelet is an error; the paragraph follows Livius,* p. 82.

same, w^ch^ cittizens vppon the walls of the Cittie, and the towers and steeples, stoode to beholde the Englishmen.

[1] And from thence he went into a prouince, w^ch^ the Frenchmen call Brie, where by assault he tooke a Castle that labored to let his journey. And the castilians of the same parte [2] he put to death, and the rest of them he ledd in captiuitie w^th^ him. And from thence he passed by the Towne of Prouince [3], and by the Towne of Nogent, w^ch^ standeth vppon the riuer of Seene; and so continued this journey vntill he approched the Cittie of Trois in Champaigne; of whose cominge when Phillip, Duke of Burgonie, was aduertized, he went with a companie of knights, noblemen, and [4] estats to meet the Kinge w^th^out the Cittie; whome he receaued w^th^ greate honnour and due obeysance. Then this most victorious Kinge, accompanied both of Englishmen and of Frenchmen of euerie state and degree, entered the aforesaide Cittie of Trois, the streets whereof w^th^out anie abidinge he passed vntill he came to the Kings pallace,[5] where Kinge Charles and the Queene his wife aboad his cominge; of whome at his cominge to the Pallace he was receaued goodlie and after princely manners and w^th^ the most louinge words that coulde be deuised; for at that time Kinge Charles was not vexed w^th^ his infirmitie, w^ch^ troubled him but at times. When then this victorious Kinge of England was thus royallie receaued of Kinge Charles and the Queene his wife, after the due resolucion of his partie made vnto them, he departed thence; and by the Duke of Burgoine and other greate stats, as well of England as of Fraunce, he was conveyed to his lodges.[6] This Cittie was deuided into two parts, whereof th'one halfe was assigned to the Frenchmen and Burgonians, and the other parte to the Englishmen.

[1] *Livius*, pp. 82–3. [2] partie *B.*; quosdam *Livius*.
[3] Provins.
[4] *The MSS. are imperfect*; *B. reads* cominge . . . aduertized a companie . . . estats. *Livius has* Quod ut scire potuit Philippus Burgundiae Dux, cum grandi procerum et equitum comitatu victori regi cum primoribus et urbis obviam veniens. *Stow has*: Troys in Campaigne where he was mette by the Duke of Burgoygne accompanyed with many noblemen three leagues without the Towne. *See* p. 192 *below*.
[5] to the Kinge *MSS.*; ad regiam Karoli *Livius*; Kings pallace *Stow*.
[6] When then . . . lodges *an expansion of* Inde rex invictissimus cum maximo comitatu suum in diverticulum vadit. *Stow follows the Translator, but reads*: resolutions on his parte made vnto King Charles and the Q.

And because that parte that was assigned to the Englishmen sufficed not to receaue them all w^th^in the walls, but that a greate parte of them must be lodged in the subberbes of y^e^ Cittie; the Kinge of England, because that his people on that partie shoulde haue free concurse together, caused the walls on that part of the Cittie, where he was lodged, to be cast to the grounde. At this time the Kinge ordered and decreed many necessarie things amongest his people for there bodelie health; amongest w^ch^ one was this, as I finde written,[1] because the wines of the countrie were so famous[2] and stronge, and that Englishmen had not bin accustomed w^th^ such drinks nor that was not naturall for them: this prudent Prince, desyringe the health and wellfare of his people, caused to be proclaymed thorough his hoast, that no man shoulde presume vppon paine of his displeasure, as to be punished at his will, to drinke any wines w^th^out puttinge to water. Manie other things he decreed for the proffit of his people, that for the lenght of the matter I shall heere ouerpasse, and consequentlie returne to other matters.[3]

The Kings great care of his souldiers health.

[4] Because Kinge Charles, as it is afore rehearsed, was often trobled w^th^ his accustomed disease, w^ch^ was to him an impediment to gouerne both his singuler acts and the publique weale, in the time he was in whole minde and good remembrance he gaue authoritie and power to Isabell, his wife and Queene, to Phillipp, Duke of Burgondie, and to certaine other of his Councell, plenarilie to conclude the peace w^th^ Kinge Henrie for him and for his Realme of Fraunce vnder such condicions as after shalbe declared more at large; and also to proue, ratyfie, and confirme the same by oath solemnized in the person of Kinge Charles, w^th^out fraude or malinge, in all things to be obserued and kepte vnto the saide Kinge Henrie, his heires and successors, by the saide Kinge Charles, his heires and successors. And the same Kinge Charles in the worde of a Kinge promised, and also bound himselfe and his heires, to houlde firme and stable all and whatsoeuer things of peace shoulde be made, promised, graunted and concluded by his

[1] quia scriptum et non sine causa comperio *Livius.*
[2] fumosum *Livius.*
[3] *For this last sentence Livius has simply*: Nunc ad majora pergamus.
[4] *Livius*, pp. 83–5.

saide Queene and by the Duke of Burgoine, and others of his Councell as is aforesaide, to him deputed [for] the same.[1] And the xxjth day of May, in the xlth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Charles, and of the victorious raigne of Kinge Henrie the eight, in the Cathedrall Church of Trois, the victorious Kinge Henrie, with the puissant Duke of Clarence, his brother, and other the Dukes, Earles, Bisshopps, Barrons, Lords, and estats of the realme of Englande, and other prelatts and wise men expert both in the Lawes of God and of man, and Isabell, Queene of Fraunce, wth the mighty Duke of Burgoine, and others of the Kings Councell of Fraunce, and in that partie of his speciall commissioners for and in the name of the Kinge of Fraunce, and also for themselues and in there proper names, in a greate assemblie of estates of Fraunce, vulgarlie called a Parlyament, wherein the three estates of the Realme were present [2], concluded the peace betwext the two Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and the same by th'assent of the whole Parliament there ratified and proued wth condicions and articles that hereafter doth followe. And the same daie were made two writinges or lettres contayninge the manner and effect of peace, w^{ch} writinges were sealed wth the broade seale of the saide Kinge Charles; by w^{ch} writinges the same Kinge Charles gaue in commaundment to all the Princes, Dukes, Busshopps, Archbisshopps, Earles, Barrons, Knights, Mayors, Bayleifes, and generallie to all other his Lieges,[3] vppon payne that they should be noated as traytors, that they shoulde obserue and keepe this peace, and cause to be obserued and kept; and also that they shoulde make theire oath to Kinge Henrie of Fraunce [4] to keepe and mainetayne the same peace and appointments inuiolate and vnbroken. Then immediatlie Isabell the Queene, and the Duke of Burgoine, in the name of the saide Kinge Charles, as they had of him authoritie and commaundment, made a solemne oath vppon the Euangelists that the same Kinge Charles, his heires and successors,

[1] and others . . . the same *an interpolation by the Translator.*

[2] tribus videlicet statibus, ut crebrius usurpant, nobilibus, clericis, et populis *Livius.*

[3] Principibus, proceribus, Praefectis, baillivis, et, ut eorum verbo loquamur, militibus, antistibus, sacerdotibus, civibus et oppidanis *Livius.*

[4] regis Angliae, regentis et Franciae *Livius.*

shoulde obserue and keepe w^th^out fraude or deceite the peace betwext the saide two realmes w^th^ all manner condicions and articles made and concluded for the same, and shoulde also cause and procure all the same to be obserued and kept. And the same oath the Queene Isabell and the Duke of Burgoine in there owne names, and for themselues theire heires and successors, made vnto the Kinge[1] for him his heires and successors. The wordes of the Dukes oath were these: 'I, Phillipe, Duke of Burgoine, for me and my 'heires, sware and make oath vppon these holie Euangelists 'to Henry of England[2] and heire apparaunt and regent of 'Fraunce, for my Soueraigne Lorde, King Charles, that 'meekely and faithfullie [we] shall obey the same Kinge 'Henrie in all things that appertayne to the crowne of 'Fraunce, or to the common weale of the same realme. And 'imediatlie after the death of the saide Kinge Charles our 'Soueraigne Lord, we shalbe true and faithfull leiges to the 'saide Kinge Henrie, his heires and successors.[3] And further 'more we shall not be of Councell nor giue our consent to 'nothinge that maie be the preiudice of the same Kinge 'Henrie, his heires and successors, wherein they may suffer 'any derogacion or detriment of theire bodies, of there mem-'bers, possessions and honnors. And if we knowe of anie 'conspiracion against him, his heires and successors, we shall 'signifie it vnto him in all the hast to vs possible either by 'letters, or else by our trustie messengers, that they may 'the better prouide to eschewe the perrills thereof.' When the Dukes oath was in this manner finished, as manie as were there present both of the Kings Councell, and of the Parlyament by Bishopps, Lords, Knights and Commons[4] made the same oath to the Kinge. And the xxiij^th^ day of the same moneth of May the Chancellor of Fraunce, and manie other Lords, Bisshopps, prelats, and noble men

[1] Henrico regi *Livius.*

[2] to Henry of Englande *om. B.*; Domino Henrico regi Angliae *Livius.*

[3] *The Translator does not render*: nec alium quempiam pro domino nostro suppremo Franciae regem quam Henricum et suos heredes habebimus neque patiemur.

[4] Parliamentum, antistes, praefecti, baillivi, cives, et incolae meliores *Livius.*

of the Realme gaue the like faith and oath to the Kinge Henrie.

King Henrie marieth with Charles his Daughter Kinge of Fraunce.

[1] The said third of June, w^ch^ then was the next day after the feast of the Holie Trynitie,[2] beinge present the Councell of Kinge Charles, [the Duke of Burgoine] [3] Isabell the Queene of Fraunce, and also the valliant Duke of Clarence, and manie other Bisshopps, Lords, knights, and gentlemen of England, that were come thether w^th^ the Kinge,[4] the Sacrament of Matrimonie was solemnely sacred [5] betwixt the most victorious Kinge Henrie of Englande and that excellent and glorious Lady, Dame Katheryn, daughter to Kinge Charles of Fraunce and to Dame Isabell the Queene. The peace was confirmed betwext the saide two Kings and there Realmes, and was reduct into writinge in the tenure of these words: 'Kinge 'Henrie from nowefoorth, duringe the life of Kinge Charles, 'shall not name nor write himselfe Kinge of Fraunce, nor of 'his people he not suffer himself to be named or written. 'After the death of Kinge Charles, Kinge Henrie shalbe 'Kinge of Fraunce peaceably w^th^ his heires and successors. 'And because Kinge Charles, by reason of his infirmitie, is 'vnable to gouerne the common wealth, Kinge Henrie duringe 'the life of Kinge Charles shall rule and gouerne the realme of 'Fraunce, to the proffit and honnor of the same Kinge 'Charles. Kinge Charles in all his writinges shall name the 'same Kinge Henrie our sonn and heire of Fraunce, and shall 'cause him to be named and written in all his lettres that 'shall passe his Seale, wherein it is requisite that the name of 'Kinge Henrie be contayned during the life of the saide 'Kinge Charles, Kinge Henrie shalbe written Kinge of 'England and heire and regent of Fraunce; and in like 'manner he shall write himselfe, in all things that shalbe 'authorized vnder his owne Seale, Kinge Henrie shall call 'Kinge Charles his Father, and Queene Isabell his Mother, and

[1] *Livius*, pp. 85–7.

[2] *Livius has simply* eodem die *sc.* 23^rd^ May. *The true date was Trinity Sunday*, 2^nd^ *June. The Translator follows Monstrelet*, iii. 389.

[3] *om. MSS.; supplied from Stow*; Duce Burgundiae *Livius*.

[4] *The Translator omits*: proceribus, equestris ordinis militibus, antistibus, divini humanique juris consultissimis viris.

[5] The Matrimonie was solemnized *Stow*; connubium . . . solemniter celebratum est *Livius*.

'so shall honnor them.[1] Nor Kinge Henrie shall not prohibite,
'w^th^houlde, nor defraude[2] Kinge Charles, his Father, of the
'crowne of Fraunce, nor of the issues nor reuenneus thereof;
'and the Queene his mother at all times duringe her life, he
'shall keepe duringe her life her due estate belonginge to her
'Ma^tie^. And that the saide Kinge Henrie w^th^ better minde
'and will shall obserue and also performe all those couenaunts,
'Kinge Charles and Queene Isabell shall giue to him that
'chast and excellent Ladie Katherine, there daughter, in
'marriage. To whome (as shortlie as he maie after the
'mariage solemnized) Kinge Henrie shall giue for her dowry
'xl. thousand scutts of yearelie reuenewes w^th^in his realme of
'Englande, and after when he shall peaceabley possesse and
'enioy the crowne of Fraunce he shall giue vnto her xx.
'thousand scutts of yearely rents in the realme of Fraunce.
'Kinge Henrie shall call vnto him the Councell of good and
'wise men to gouerne the Realme of Fraunce. And whilest
'he is yet regent he shall obserue and keepe all the lawes,
'iurisdiccions, and priuiledges of the Parlyament of Fraunce.
'Kinge Henrie being Regent shall after loue, and w^th^ justice
'and equity, gouerne the Realme of Fraunce, and w^th^ fauour;
'and the Princes, Dukes, Archbisshopps, Bisshopps, Earles,
'Barrons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Prelatts, Clarks.
'Burgesses and Commons, subiects to the Crowne of Fraunce;[3]
'he shall also minister Justice, so that it be indifferentlie
'ministred by his office thorough the same realme. He shall
'at all times chuse and substitute such Justices, Mayors,
'Sherifes, Baylifes, Constables, and other officers of the
'Realme, as shall obserue the lawes and droytes[4] of Fraunce.
'He shall neuer oppresse nor charge the Realmes of Fraunce,
'nor subiects of Kinge Charles w^th^ no exactions nor payments
'of money w^th^out lawfull cause. Kinge Charles shall giue

[1] Publicae literae quae scribentur Karoli nomine semper ipso vivo in quopiam forte casu Karoli commodum concernente regis Henrici Angliae Franciaeque Regentis nomen inscribendum foret semper scribuntur, Karolum patrem, Isabellam matrem Henricus nominato, sic honorato *Livius*.

[2] defeate *Stow*.

[3] Regno, Proceribus, &c. Henricus Regens secundum justum, aequum et bonum faveto *Livius*.

[4] *Blank in B.*; jura *Livius*.

'commaundment to all the three estats of the Realme of 'Fraunce [1] that they shall giue to Henrie, Kinge of England, 'heire and Regent of Fraunce, the same oath that is before 'written of the Duke of Burgoine, and to bringe that to effect 'he shall dilligentlie indeauour him. Kinge Henrie by arms 'and streinght shall attaine, chastice, and reduce [2] vnder the 'obeysance of Kinge Charles his empiere all rebells w^th^in the 'realme of Fraunce, in as much in him is, and namelie all 'those that obstinatlie be confederats w^th^ the Dolphine, and 'w^th^ the Earle of Arminake. And whatsoeuer he getteth or 'conquereth vppon the rebells (except in the Dutchie of 'Normandie) it shall remaine vnder the obeysance of Kinge 'Charles; and they that nowe be rebells and disobedient to 'Kinge Charles, and hereafter will seeke for peace and wilbe 'sworne to continewe his true liegmen, all there goods, 'hereditaments and possessions, that shalbe taken from them 'in the time of there obstinacie by battaile, shalbe restored 'vnto them againe. And all they that fauoured Kinge Charles 'and the Duke of Burgoine, and liued vnder theire tuition, 'and were by the Englishmen depriued of there possessions, 'Kinge Henrie shall cause them to be restored to them againe, 'except such lands as were geuen by the Kinge at that time 'to his complices. And yet in the same cause the same 'Kinge Henrie, when he shall peaceablie inioy the crowne of 'Fraunce, shall cause the same lands and hereditaments to be 'restored to there former possessors,[3] so that they will giue 'him [4] theire faithes and continewe his true liege people.[5] 'When Kinge Henrie shall possesse the Crowne of Fraunce, 'then the Dutchie of Normandie, and other lands that he shall 'conquer by armes, shalbe vnder the Monarchie of Fraunce 'as part of the same Realme.'

[6] 'There shalbe no peace nor concord made nor taken w^th^ 'Charles, that calleth himselfe Dolphine of Fraunce, w^th^out 'assent and Councell of Kinge Charles, Kinge Henrie, and the

[1] Principes scilicet, Duces, Proceres, Comites, magnates; et nobiles, antistes, sacerdotes, et clerici; Cives, Burgenses, oppidani, castella, rusticique *Livius.*

[2] debellans domansque deducito *Livius.*

[3] possessions *B.*; possessoribus *Livius.* [4] them *B.*

[5] so that . . . people *an interpolation by the Translator.*

[6] *Livius*, p. 87.

'Duke of Burgoine, and the three estates of Fraunce and 'Englande.'

[1] 'All men that desire peace, before eight monethes be 'finished, may lawfully demaunde it. Vppon all and singuler 'couenaunts, pactions and agreements before rehearsed in 'writings shalbe published vnder the seales of both the 'Kinges.' [2]

[3] Confederations [4] and aliance is assured also w[th] the Duke of Burgoine in this forme: 'Phillippe, the Duke of Burgoine, 'shall indeauour to cause the saide peace to be concluded 'betwext the two Kings w[th] all there articles and couenants 'to be houlden firme and inuiolate; and that thinge he shall 'procure and mainetayne w[th] all his power; nor he shall not 'in any consent nor suffer that anie articles thereof be broken 'nor desolued, for as much as in him is to resist it; and for 'his good minde in that behalfe one of his sisters shalbe 'geuen in marriage to one of the bretheren of Kinge Henrie. 'King Henrie shall fauour and mainetayne the Duke of Bur-'goine and all the rights of his dominacion as his most deere 'brother. And after the death of Kinge Charles [5] the Duke 'of Burgoine shall make his oath to this true alegiance [6] to 'Kinge Henrie, as to his soueraigne Lorde, in manner as is 'afore written. Duke Phillippe shall at all times be freindlie 'and fauorable to Kinge Henrie and his successors. Kinge 'Henrie shall laboure w[th] all his strenght to haue due 'punition done vppon Charles that is named Dolphine, and 'vppon others that were culpable of the death of John, late 'Father of the Duke of Burgoine; if the Dolphine or anie 'other guiltie of the saide murther be taken in battaile or 'in place assieged, he shall not be deliuered w[th]out receiuinge 'due punishment, except it be by consent of Kinge Charles, 'Kinge Henrie, and the three estates of both realmes. And 'whereas the Duke of Burgoine hath, by his paine and laboure 'and councell, a fee by patent of Kinge Charles and Isabell the

[1] *Livius*, p. 87.
[2] Super omnibus et singulis praedictis pactis . . . publicae regiis utriusque sigillis tabellae scribentor *Livius*.
[3] *Livius*, pp. 87–9.
[4] Considerations *MSS.*; Ictum est et foedus *Livius*.
[5] Charles and *B.* [6] fidelitatis jusjurandum *Livius*.

'Queene, so y^t Duke for his aide and councell and amitie 'a fee of the yearelie value of xx. thousand pounds Parris to 'himselfe, to Mighell his wife, and to the heires males of 'theire two bodies begotten to be taken and receuied of the 'reuenewes of the Crowne of Fraunce. And for the same the 'saide Duke of Burgoine shall continue his accustomed hom-'age to the Crowne of Fraunce.'[1] After the fynall end and accomplishment of his marriage and couenaunts and condicions ordayned and ratified in all points by the aduice of men, hee at the instance of Kinge Charles and his Councell, accompanied of the same Kinge, of the two Queens Isabell and Katherine, and of the Duke of Burgonie, departed from Trois and tooke his journey to Parris, the Metropolitan Cittie of the Realme. And from Parris,[2] not manie daies after, they all went to laye siege to the Cittie of Sens, w^ch was vnto them contrarious and an enemie; but tofore all those were set in there places appointed, and tofore anie assault or skirmish, the captaines, cittizens, and garrisons submitted there bodies, the Cittie, w^th all that they had to the Kings obeysance. Then when all things were there ordered to there profitt and for the defence of the Towne, they hasted them by the most speedy way they coulde to Monstran on Saulton,[3] where John the late Duke of Burgoine was slaine; and the Towne thereof was taken by force at the first assault; and the Castell, w^ch for the strenght thereof, might longe haue resisted the Kings power, was forth-w^th deliuered to the Kinge. Then the bodie of the saide late Duke of Burgoine, w^ch first after his death was cast into a vile

[1] *The Translator's rendering of the last clause is inaccurate*: Pro studio laboribusque Burgundi ducis, quod velut patentem cautionem habet a Karolo rege Isabellaque regina, Burgundus dux propter suas terras feudum habeat a corona Franciae cum proventibus annuis librarum xx. milium Parisiensium pro se Michaelaque sua conjuge, suis et heredibus virilis sexus ex utroque parente descendentibus. Henricus rex omni studio curato, sique prius fieri non poterit, cum primum Henricus corona Franciae coronabitur, ipse rex in feudum dictos proventus annuos praefato duci solito cum homagio Franciae dato vel dari facito *Livius*.

[2] *Henry did not visit Paris, but went straight to Sens, which surrendered on* 11^th *June. Livius is obscure*: Senonensem ad urbem obsidendam Parisius metropolitanam sibi rebellem; *this probably means that Sens was the metropolitan see of Paris. Here Stow (who omitted much of the Treaty) resumes.*

[3] Montereau-où-Fault-Yonne. Mostreau on Saulton, *or* Monstereau on Foulcdyone *Livius*.

pitt, and after by a certaine inhabitant of the Towne secretlie taken vpp and buried in the principall Church of the Towne, nowe was taken vpp from the sepulture and transported to the Cittie of Dyiion,[1] Metropolitan and cheife of all Burgoine, where he was buried in the Abbie of the Charterhouse w^th^ greate solemnitie, w^ch^ monasterie Duke Phillippe, father to the saide John, was founder of. After the conquest of Monstrean, at the xv^th^ day of Julie, the two Kings and the Duke of Burgoine set there assiege before Millomie,[2] whereof the Towne was verie defensible and stronge, but the Castell of same was much more stronge, and in a manner inexpugnable. This Towne and Castell was enuironed w^th^ the Riuer of Seene, and seemed like a little islande. The captaine thereof was the Lord of Guyan, whose name was Barbason, a stronge knight and manlie, and most excellent of deeds of armes of all the knights in those daies that [3] were knowne in Fraunce. This captaine, at first asseige of the Towne, at the sounde of a trumpet assembled a councell all the knights, souldiers and inhabitants of the Towne and of the Castell; whome he commaunded, vppon paine to loose there heads, that none of them shoulde presume to speake, treate, or mooue for anie composicion of peace or deliueraunce of there houlds to the two Kings, except the saide captaine where the first moouer thereof.

[4] The Kinge of England, at his first approach to this Towne, set his people on the south side thereof, and the Duke of Burgoine was on the north side. And in such manner they helde the Towne assieged in manie and greate anguishes and afflictions, vntill the x^th^ of Nouember.[5] In w^ch^ meane time (as the Frenchmen doe report) [6] the Kinge of Englande sent his Harrauld to the Captaine Barbasone commaundinge him to deliuer the Towne and Castell to him, w^ch^ aunswere when the harralde had reported tofore the two Kings, Captaine Barbason's aunswere was this, that he receaued neither the Towne

[1] Dijon; Oppidum de Dinione *Livius*.
[2] Melun; Oppidum de Meleduno *Livius*; Melune *Stow*.
[3] That *om. B.*; in re militari per omnem orbem clarissimus *Livius*.
[4] *Livius*, p. 89. [5] *Livius has simply* ad Novembrem.
[6] *Here apparently begins the Earl of Ormonde's story. But see also Monstrelet*, iii. 412.

nor the Castell of him, therefore he woulde deliuer none vnto him. And when the Kinges heard this aunswere, the French Kinge, of whome the Captaine had receaued the garde and care of this Towne and Castle, sent vnto the Captaine his herraulde to commaunde him in his name to deliuer his houlde vnto him as to his Soueraigne Lorde. But the Captaine nothinge obeyinge his commaundement sent vnto him this aunswere sayinge: 'When I receaued of him the charge and 'government of this Towne and Castell, the Kinge my Souer- 'aigne Lorde was at free libertie and gouerned by no man, but 10 'by his Councell and true Liegemen. And since that time 'the Kinge of Englande, who came into this Realme as his 'enemie to take from him his Crowne and to conquer his 'realme, hath obtayned the rule and gouernment of him, by 'whose aduise and Councell I perceaue he commaundeth me 'to deliuer these places. And therefore in that thinge he 'commaundeth at th'instaunce of him that is an aduersarie to 'the whole Realme of Fraunce, I ought not nor will obey his 'precepte. But when I shall see him in his former libertie, 'and out of the gouernaunce of the Kinge of Englande I 20 'shall in all his commaundementes be obedient to him as to 'my Soueraigne Lorde, and vntill that time I shall, to my 'power, keepe to his vse those places w^ch^ he deliuered vnto 'me.' When this aunswere was come to the Kinge of England he commaunded in all hast possible to vndermine the earth, in purpose by these meanes to subuert the Walles of the Towne, or else secretly by them to enter the Towne. Howbeit they were letten from that purpose by the Frenchmen of the Towne, w^ch^ countermined the Englishmen, and mett them w^th^in the earth, where betwixt them were manie manlie 30 battailes and encounters. But first of all Kinge Henrie, hearinge two greate Lordes of his hoast in variance because either of them woulde haue made entrie first into the same myne, to appeach that discorde he entered first into the same myne; and in like manner the Captaine Barbasan was the first on that part of the Cittie that entered the same myne, for that he encountered the Kinge, so that they two fought together right mightely. And after a longe battaile betwixt them, and that either of them had demaunded others name, at the

King Henrie and Barbasan mett in the myne.

first Barbasan knowledged his name to the Kinge vppon condicion that the Kinge shoulde in like manner disclose his name vnto him, and saide vnto the Kinge: 'I ame Barbasan, the 'Captaine of the Towne and Castell.' Then the Kinge, as he hadd promised, said: 'And I ame Henrie "par la grace de 'dieu."[1] At w^ch aunswere Barbasan, knowinge evidently w^th whome he had foughten, commaunded that the bararers w^thin the myne to be closed, and woulde no longer fight, but departed from the myne and went into the Towne, and the Kinge returned to his hoast.[1]

Titus Liuius.

[2] In this manner continued this assiege, vntill at the last, after manie cruell assaultes, skirmishes, and battailes, the Frenchmen of the Towne and of the Castell had fayled meate and drinke by the space of vj continued daies, by occasion whereof they were constrayned to deliuer the houldes to the two Kinges, w^ch was done vnder the appointment that the inhabitantes and souldiers should haue free libertie to goe whether they woulde, w^thout dainger of displeasure, except all those that were aydinge or consentinge, or otherwise culpable of the death of the late Duke of Burgoine; w^ch if any such were there, they couenaunted to deliuer in bonds to the Kinge, to the end that they shoulde be iudged in the Court of Parliament to condigne payne for there offence. And of them were many in this towne, w^ch were after condemned by the lawe and put to execucion, amongest whome the saide Captaine Barbasan was accused of this homicide by Phillip, Duke of Burgoine, by his mother, and his sister openly in Court, where the Captaine defended himself of this accusacion, graunted himselfe to knowinge thereof, in so much as he was one of the greatest of the Dolphin's house, and most familier w^th the Dolphine, but not consentinge nor giuinge his councell to that murther in no wise;[3] by w^ch accusation it was thought he was not culpable thereof. And therefore he was

[1] *This narrative is given in a shortened form by Holinshed* (iii. 122) *as from the Translator.*

[2] *Paraphrased somewhat fully from Liuius*, pp. 89, 90.

[3] *Monstrelet*, iii. 347, *with reference to Duke John's murder says*: Auquel Barbasan fut moult desagréable, et tant que par plusieurs foiz reproucha à ceulx qui avoient machiné le cas dessusdit, en disant qu'ilz avoient destruit leur dit maistre d'honneur, et de chevance.

not condemned nor iudged to death. And because for the manie obiections that were spoken against him, he was not cleerelie discharged, but was committed to prison in Paris, and after in the Castell of Gailard,[1] where he remayned as prisoner by the space of ix yeare; but at the last the Castell was occupied by them that secretly fauored the Dolphin's part, by whome the saide Barbasan was deliuered, and by that meane escaped the dainger of prison. Howbeit, as I haue heard often the forenamed Earle of Ormonde[2] reporte by the opinion of the Frenchmen, as he learned in the time of his soiourne amongest them, that when the kinge, for manie displeasures that he had receaued by him, and especially for the death of the saide late Duke of Burgoine, intended to put the saide Captaine Barbasan to death, he appealed from the Judgement of the Kinge to the Judgement of the officers of armes, and that alleadged to be lawfull cause of his appeale, that by the lawe of arms no man hauing his brother in armes at his possession and at his will ought not to put him to death for anie displeasure or occasion, and that he was brother in arms to the Kinge by armes, and approued that he had fought w^th^ the Kinge hand to hand w^th^in the myne, as is aforesaide; w^ch^ battaile was houlden by Herraulds of Armes in like strenght and if he had fought w^th^ the Kinge body to body w^th^in the listes. And his appeale was by them for that cause approued, and by good deliberacion they judged that by lawe of armes, they might not put him to death; wherefore he was adiudged by the Kinge to perpetuall imprisonment. And when he had bin a certaine tyme prisoner at Parris, he was sent to the Castell of Gaylard, where w^th^in a greate Dungeon he was enclosed in a grate of yron of the quantetie of a little Chamber. And besides that the Captaine of the same Castle, whose name was Kingstone[3] and was borne in England, made the same Barbasan to giue him his faith to continewe his true prisoner and not to depart w^th^out his lycence. And longe after, when the same Castle was againe recouered by the Frenchmen by the deliuerance of the Englishmen, the Frenchmen findinge the saide Barbasan aliue, whome tofore they

Translator.

[1] Château Gaillard. [2] *See Introduction*, p. xxxvi *above*. [3] Thomas Kingston.

beleeued to be deade, were maruelouslie reioyced w^th^ the recouery of him. And w^th^ all the hast possible they depesshed and brake in peeces the saide Cage of Iron, wherein he was inclosed and inuironed, to deliuer him from his prison; but in no wise he woulde depart that gate vntill the English capten had discharged him of his oath. Wherefore the Frenchmen vnder safe conduct sent to the English captaine, w^ch^ then was departed vppon such appointments as were convenient at the deliueraunce of the Castell, prayinge him to come vnto them, at whose instance he returned and discharged Barbasan of his oath. And then the said Barbasan departed from the prison. Then to returne to our former matter. [1] When the Towne and Castell of Millane were thus deliuered to the two Kings, they w^th^ there Queenes, and the Duke of Burgoine, w^th^ there whole hoasts returned to Parris; against whome came the cittizens of the same Cittie in rich apparrell. Who, w^th^ the Uniuersitie, conueyed Kinge Charles w^th^ his Queene to his Pallace royall; and that done they, w^th^ the Duke of Burgoine, conueyed the Kinge of England and his Queene to there lodges. At this time by the commaundment of King Charles where come to Parris the three Estates of the Realme of Fraunce, w^th^ whome manie things concerninge the common weale were treated. And [in][2] diuerse parts of the realme discreet men and such as had experience in the lawe were constituted baylifes and ministers of Justice. And that done, before the two Kings sittinge in theire seate of Justice, and before the whole Courte of Parliament by three[3] procters of profound learninge, whereof the one was a Doctor of the Ciuill lawe, the second of Cannon, the thirde a Doctor of Diuinitie, Duke Phillippe, beinge there, and his mother and his sisters, who at that time were absent, accused diuerse persons of the late Duke of Burgoine,[4] declaringe and inlarginge the trespase, and after Ciuill lawe demaundinge life for life, after Cannon lawe desiringe satisfaccion for the trespase, as to builde Houses of religion and namelie where the murther was committed, or else to doe some other

[1] *Livius*, pp. 90, 91.
[2] *om. MSS.*
[3] theret *B.*; per patronos tres *Livius.*
[4] contra patratum facinus a Delphino de morte Johannis ducis accusationem fecere *Livius.*

works of chastitie or charitie [1] for the ghoastlie comfort of him that was slayne. The custome of Fraunce is that no man shall desire a trespassor, and that hath deserued execution of death or punishment in members, to be judged for his trespasse, but the procurator of the Kings treasurie beinge thereof wholie instructed, ioyned w^th^ him the proctors of the plaintifes.[2] And for the Kings cause, and for the common wealth he demaunded this judgement to be geuen against the Dolphine, and all others that were culpable and consentinge to the death of John, late Duke of Burgoine, that as manie of them as might be taken, either by battaile or at siege, shoulde be put to death, and all the resedue shoulde be exiled; and all theire goods, as well moueable as not moueable, shoulde be forfeited to the Kinge; and that the Dolphine shoulde be depriued of the succession of the Realme, and shoulde be declared vnable to succeede his father. W^ch^ judgement seriouslie, and as is rehearsed,[3] Kinge Charles, sitting in his state royall, with assent of all this Parliament decreed and inacted to be effectuall and of force. And the same so decreed he commaunded to be published, and after that proclaymed; w^ch^ sentence and iudgment, duringe the life of the saide Kinge Charles, was neuer after by him reuoked. When this Parliament in forme aforesaide had taken an ende, and that theise iudgements were solemnely published, at the seconde daie of Januarie Duke Phillip of Burgoine, w^th^ good lycence of both the Kings, departed from Parris and returned into his Countre of Flaunders. At the vij^th^ daye of Januarie then next followinge King Henrie with Dame Katherine his Queene, by th'assent of Kinge Charles leauinge his vnckle the Duke of Excester at Parris, w^th^ the Kings Councell returned into England,[4] in purpose to crowne his Queene Queene of England; w^th^out w^ch^ coronacion [5]

[1] vel alia opera pia ad inferias piaculaque defuncti *Livius*.

[2] nisi quod procurator fisci rem diligenter audiens et considerans, postquam plane doctus est judicium criminis, se cum actoribus jungens fieri petit. Ut igitur oratores et patroni Burgundiae ducis rem exposuerunt, peroptime doctus illam procurator fisci cum actoribus se jungens pro causa regis, &c. *Livius*.

[3] Quod, ut dicitur, per dictum procuratorem petitum *Livius*.

[4] relicto cum consilio regis Excestriae duce Parisius et in Normannia regente duce Clarenciae fratre suo, qui dum ipse rex esset in Anglia dux in praelio caesus est, in Angliam *Livius*.

[5] possession *B.*; qua sine coronatione *Livius*.

he might not haue possession to her dowry that the Kinge had couenaunted to giue her. But tofore his departinge out of Fraunce he had deputed to the gouernour of Normandie the puissant mightie and prudent Duke of Clarence, his brother; wch Duke after the kings departinge into England, hearinge that the Dolphins hoast was come in great number to Bangue,[2] prepared his hoast to goe against them; and when he had iourned so much that he was come nigh vnto them, he left behinde him all his archers and footmen,[3] and only accompanied wth his horsemen and speares he hasted him wth all dilligence towardes his enemies, who also on there partie, knowinge the archers and footemen were left behinde of the English, aduaunced themselues against the Dukes companie; betweene whome was begunn a maruelous cruell and blodie battaile, but at the last the discomfiture returned vppon the Englishmen. On whose partie was slayne the saide noble Duke of Clarence, and all the chiefe of Lords, Knights and gentlemen of his companie, to the number of two or three thousand souldiers and speares; and of the same partie were taken the Earles of Somerset and Huntington and about ij. C. others of the Englishmen. And of the Frenchmen also were slaine manie great lords and captaines, and to the number of vj. C. or thereabouts[4] of the Dolphins party. Neuertheles after this great discomfiture of the Englishmen the Earle of Salisburie wth the English archers and footmen, wch followed the Duke wth all the hast possible, rescued and recouered the bodie of the Duke of Clarence, wch after was solemnelie buried in England. Then to returne to our former purpose. [5] After the Kinge had ordered and disposed all things as he thought necessarie and most behoouefull, he entred his journey towards England, in wch voyage of the Kinge and of the Queene was engendred Kinge Henrie the vjth, that was after borne in England, and nowe resteth intumelate in Windsor.[6] Also

Enguerunt.[1]

The Duke of Clarence slaine.

[1] *Monstrelet*, iv. 24, 37–9. *Livius has only the brief reference quoted above. Stow follows the Brut*, p. 427.
[2] Baugé; *blank in H.*
[3] *This detail comes from the Brut*, pp. 492, 563.
[4] mille à onze cents hommes *Monstrelet.*
[5] *Livius*, p. 91.
[6] Hoc in itinere genitus es Henricus sextus, in Anglia qui natus *Livius. Henry VI was born on* 6th *Dec.*, 1421, *buried at Chertsey in* 1471, *and translated to Windsor in* 1484.

this is not to be forgotten: the Kinge before his departure from Parris of his owne proper money, whereto he was not bounden, he satisfied and paide all Judges and other officers of the highe Courte of Parliament all such duties, salaries and wages that were owinge vnto them. Then when the King was arriued in England, he made his excellent Queene to be crowned after the custome of England. And that done he assigned to her dowry tenn thousand marks English. At this his nowe beinge in England he consented to the deliueraunce of the Kinge of Scotts, who had long bine prisoner in England. Whose deliueraunce was graunted in such manner that tofore his departinge out of England he shoulde take to his wife the Duke of Somersetts sister, neece to the Cardinall of Winchester, w^ch^ Cardinall was the principall councellor and procurer of that marriage and deliueraunce.[1]

Titus Liuius Regni ix^th^ 1421.

[2] In the ninth yeare of his most victorious raigne, at the middest of sommer, after he had gathered and receaued an infinite somme of money w^ch^ the commons had geuen him for the performaunce of the warrs, leauinge in England his Queene, the Kinge w^th^ a greate companie of men of warr, as Enguerunt[3] reciteth to the number of xxx. M. men, returned into Fraunce. And accompanied only of his houshould seruants, leauinge his greate hoast by the way, he came sodainelie to Parris, late in the eueninge, to see the state of the Kinge of Fraunce and of his Queene. And not manie daies after he returned againe to his people; in w^ch^ returne he tooke the Castell Dreux at one assault. And when he heard that his enemies prepared them to battaile, he approached the Flood of Loyer,[4] about w^ch^ flood it was saide his enemies were; where, for peraduenture he might meet w^th^ them, or that they woulde abide his comminge, he entended to fight w^th^ them. But against him came no man, nor no enemie aboade his comminge. Then the Kinge began to compasse about the Flood, thereby the rather to prouoke his aduersaries to battaile; but his trauaile was in

[1] *This notice of James of Scotland is inserted by the Translator. The negotiations were not completed till* 1423.

[2] *Livius*, p. 92.

[3] *Monstrelet*, iv. 44; Trois à quatre mille hommes d'armes, et bien vingt-quatre mille archers; *the numbers of Henry's army did not much exceed one thousand.*

[4] The river Loire; flumini Ligeris *Livius.*

vayne; and, that worse is, in perambulacion of the riuer his hoast was sore trauelled w^th famyne and defaulte of victualls, that a manie of them, as well of men as of horses, perished for hunger. Wherefore this wise Kinge, entendinge to this disease to prouide a remedy, left the perambulacion and ledd his hoast to a Towne, beinge the Cittie of Sens, called the Kings newe Towne;[1] of w^ch Towne as well the garrisons as the inhabitants, hauinge no plentie of victualls, yealded themselues and the Towne to the Kinge. In the moneth of October, when Kinge Henrie had deliuered the Cittie of Parris from all her enemies that vsed in any thinge to grieue her, leauinge at his backe manie smale castells and piles yet his enemies, he went w^th his hoast to asseige the Cittie of Meaux, to w^ch citty is a place right nigh and as adioyninge to it called the market of Meaux; betwext these two places floweth[2] the riuer of Marne, w^ch also inuironeth and compasseth both the same places. In these places were manie armed men; and allmost innumerable riches were brought together thether from all the Citties, Townes and villages that were nigh vnto it, and left to be kept in this place as in the most stronge houlde of all that countrie. The captaine of that place was the Bastard of Vaiorne,[3] who tofore this siege had committed and done verie manie cruelties and tyrannies, as well against the cittizens and commons of the countrie as against all those that were taken in skirmishes and battailes. This Cittie was assieged all the winter, wherein was so manie and greate stormes and flouds of the rayne, that the Kings hoast was oftner troubled w^th hunger and colde; to w^ch disease the Kinge by his wisdome prouided at all times a short remedie. [4]Whilest this siege continued, the lord Osmound[5] (w^ch vppon certaine appointments had deliuered to the Duke of Burgoine the Towne of S^t Regnieur,[6] whereof he was captaine) confederate w^th him xl. of the best men of warr that coulde be found in anie place, with whome he delib-

The Cittie of Meaux in Brie.

Enguerunt.

[1] ad oppidum, quod Regis villa nova dicitur, ultra Senonensem urbem *Livius*; to the city of Sens, commonly called the Kings new towne *Stow. It was Villeneuve-le-Roi on the Yonne.*

[2] followeth *MSS.*; fluit *Livius*; floweth *Stow.*

[3] Vaurus; Bastardus de Vauru *Livius.*

[4] *Monstrelet*, iv. 81–3. *Stow makes no use of this passage.*

[5] Guy de Nesle, Sire d'Offemont.

[6] Saint-Riguier; Requyr *H.*

erated shortlie to enter the Cittie of Meaux to aide and succoure them of the saide Towne; vppon w^ch deliberacion, when he w^th his said companie in the night secretlie had passed th' English hoast notw^thstandinge there watches [and] were come nighe to the walls, his fortune was such that a little bridge, wherevppon he had begunn to pass the Ditch of the Towne, brake in sunder, and the same Lorde in his harnes fell into the Ditch; and by the noyse that his companie made in sauinge of him they were espied and taken of the Englishmen. Amonge whome the saide Lord Osmounde was taken aliue; but at his takinge he was greiuiouslie wounded in the face and was taken prisoner and brought to the Kinge, to whome he was after sworne to obserue, all that in him was, those couenants that were made betwext the two Kings of England and of Fraunce, and vppon th'assurance of his oath he was deliuered from his prison w^thout payinge fynance or ransome.

Titus Liuius.

[1] In the moneth of Februarie the knights that were in garrison, and the principall that were in the Citty of Meaux, perceavinge cleerelie that the sommer that was comminge shoulde cause this siege to be light and lesse painefull to the Englishmen there adversaries, and difficult and greiuous to themselues, by there common assent departed from this Cittie, and went into the place that tofore is called the Market of Meaux, as to the more defensible houlde; into w^ch place they conueyed there w^th them much riches and greate aboundance of victualls, leauinge behinde in the said Cittie the common people and others that were least apt to warr. And this they deuised among them, because the poore people and least actiue to warr shoulde not spend nor deuoure the victualls from the captaines and men of warr. After there departinge the common people that were left in the Cittie, hauinge no habillitie nor exercise of defence to resist the Kings power, yealded themselues and there cittie shortlie to the Kinge.

[2] At the moneth of May,[3] in the x^th yeare of the most glorious raigne, the king had so sore[4] beaten the aforesaide

[1] *Livius*, p. 92. [2] *Livius*, p. 93.
[3] Ad mensem autem Aprilis *Livius*. *Stow as above*. *The date was 1st May*. [4] soone *B.*; soe beaten, *H.*; so sore *Stow*.

market of Meaux,[1] wherein the captaines and men of warr were w^th^drawen, w^th^ his gunns and engins, that he had made to all his hoast a free and a large entrie into the same.[2] Neuertheles he woulde not enter the place by force, but he constrayned the Frenchmen that were beseiged to condiscend to certaine couenaunts to deliuer the place vnto him. And that he ordered both to eschewe the effusion of Christian blood, that was like to be shedd in the forceable entrie of the Towne, as for to keepe the riches that were in that place from dispoylinge and loosinge; for he thought it more conuenient to be distributed w^th^ good orders to his captains and souldiars after there desert, then to be spoiled, stolne, and embeasled. And also for that he woulde haue deliuered to his hands certaine malefactors that were amongst them, to th'intent that they shoulde suffer ponishment condigne to there demeritts. After a longe continewaunce of this siege, and that the captaines and gentlemen that were besieged sawe euedentlie that the Kinge woulde enter the place by force if they deliuered it not the sooner, w^ch^ thinge they perceaued he might well doe w^th^out his greate preiudice, and as men that were desperate of anie other succour[3] they delivered this Market Meauxe[4] to the Kinge, and also all there owne bodies to doe his pleasure w^th^, sauinge to either of them there liues; of whome manie of them were ledd prisoners into England, as the Bisshopp of the same Cittie, who shortlie after was visited of God by sicknes and dyed there in England; and diuers others were brought into Englande, of whome manie payinge there fynances were deliuered after; and many others of the same Cittie were deputed prisoners in other places beyound the seas to the number of vij. or viij. C. men;[5] but from that couenaunts to haue there liues saued iiij^or^ persons were reserued[6] and except, vppon whome for there vices and accustomed tyrannies justice shoulde be executed. That is to saie the Bastard of Vaurine, captaine of the said Citty, who after the deliueraunce of him was beheaded, and his body hanged vppon a tree one a highe

[1] Manex *B.* [2] same *om. B.*
[3] After a longe . . . succour *a gloss by the Translator.*
[4] Meanxe *B.*
[5] *This and the previous clause come from Monstrelet*, iv. 96. *Stow follows a London Chronicle.* [6] receaued *MSS.*; reservati *Livius.*

hill nighe vnto the Citty, w^ch^ then was called the Tree of Vaurus, for the manie tyrannies he had committed therein, for in the same tree he vsed to hange the cittizens poor men.[1] [And shortly after][2] were deliuered into the Kings hands the Towne of Crepie in Valois, the Castle of Pierpont, Meralawe,[3] Offemount, and manie others. After the renderinge of these Townes and Castells the Kinge returned to Parris. In w^ch^ journey, when the returne of Queene Katherine was come to the Kings knowledge of England, and of Charles, Kinge of Fraunce, both these Kings w^th^ the Queene of Fraunce, accompanied w^th^ manie greate lords and estats as well of Englande as of Fraunce, went into her meeting vnto Bois de Vistenne,[4] where she was as joyouslie receaued of them as if she had bin an Angell from God. And the xxx^th^ day of May, in the x^th^ yeare of his most victorious raigne, w^ch^ was the Fryday next before the holy Sunday of Penticost, the two Kings of England and of Fraunce and there Queenes departed Bois de Visceinte and went to Parris in much royall estate. The King of England and his Queene were lodged in the Castle of Lowre,[5] and the Kinge of Fraunce and his Queene were lodged in the pallace of S^t^ Paule;[6] in w^ch^ two places these two Kings solemnized the feast of Penticost, euerie of them seuerally by himselfe. And the proper day of Penticost the Kinge of Englande and his Queene satt together at there table in the open hall at dynner, maruelouslie glorious, and pompiously crowned w^th^ rich and precious diadems; Dukes also, Prelatts of the

[1] *A blank is left here in both MSS. A considerable passage of Livius is omitted, perhaps by an error of the copyist*: et in eadem arbore vexillum, quod in praelio dictus bastardus ferre solebat, impositum est. Resus et alius quidem equestris ordinis miles ejusdem loci baillivus, qui tirannidem praedictam perpessus ei saepe consenserat, et alii duo de primoribus civitatis; et, ut eciam pacto cautum fuerat, accusati de Burgunda caede nonnulli traditi sunt curiae Parliamenti, e quibus aliqui postea Parisius sunt per publicam justitiam capite dampnati. Hac in obsidione evangelizatus est regi partus reginae tuae matris faustaque nativitas tua, quo nullum Christianissimo Principi faustius feliciusque nuncium, cum quod sibi liberi, tum quod virilis sexus a Deo dati fuissent, nunciari potuisset. Quas ob res devotissime gratias immortali Deo nostro, tantum ob felicem successum et divinum donum, ingentes egit. Post autem purificationem partus in Franciam regina vertitur.

[2] *Supplied from Stow.*

[3] Merlan; Pier Pount-Meralawe *Stow.*

[4] Bois de Vincennes.

[5] Châtel du Louvre.

[6] Hôtel de St. Pol.

Church and other greate estats of England and of Fraunce, weere satt euery man in his degree in the same hall, where the Kinge and Queene kepte there estate. The feast was maruelouslie rich and abundant in sumpteous delicate meats and drinks. That day the Court was open to all that woulde come to the feast; the cittizens and commons of Parris resorted in greate number. And the same daie Kinge Charles and his Queene solemnized that feast at theire foresaide pallace of Saint Paule, accompanied w^th^ fewe estats, as they that were had in obliuion of all the greate lords, and also of the commons of the Realme of Fraunce.[1]

[2] When this solemne feast of Penticost was thus honnorablie passed, the Kinge of England intended to those things that concerned the common weale of Fraunce; and therein he occupied himselfe right dilligently. And because diuers of his Citties were yet trauailed w^th^ there enemies, as Amiens, Abuile, and others, wherevnto he intended to prouide a short remedy, he first sent his letters to all those parts that were so incumbred vnder the termes that followeth: 'Henrie by 'the grace of God &c. To our most deere lieges send greetinge, 'deliberinge greately and busely vppon there profitts and 'wealth. We think it necessarie to send into those parts our 'lands, legions or companies of men of warr, to deliuer you 'from your cruell aduersaries, w^th^ whome we be informed 'you are greiuouslie afflicte and vexed. But because in 'assiege of Meaux our people were often trauelled w^th^ famyne, 'if ye promise to sell vnto vs plentie of victualls for our 'money, at such prise as our messengers the bearrers of these 'our letters shall shewe vnto you, whome we haue fullie 'instruct of o^r^ intent vnto you in that behalfe. And if ye 'will bringe the same victualls vnto vs, into our tents, we shall 'briefely come vnto you; and if ye are minded otherwise, wee 'are bound to fauour the wellfare and life of our knights and 'men of warr. And thus fare ye well.' These messengers of Titus Liuius.

[1] *All this passage comes from Monstrelet*, iii. 99, 100.

[2] *Livius*, p. 94. *On resuming the Translator modifies his original to fit it into his own narrative*: Inde recta Parisius graditur Henricus, ubi dies nonnullos in hiis quae spectant ad rempublicam versatus est. Unde nuncios cum literis ad urbes et oppida bailiviae Ambianensis et Viromandiae mittit. Quarum haec erat sententia: 'Carissimis nostris salutem.'

the Kinge were receaued right benignely in those places that they were sent vnto; from whence, after they had done there messuage, returned to the Kinge w^th^ right acceptable aunswers, wherew^th^ the Kinge was right well content. Then the Kinge entended to deliuer these his Cities from the hands of his aduersaries, assembled his people. And of all other he went to the Towne of Compine,[1] adioyninge to those parts, wherevnto he had tofore sent his messengers. When the Kings voyage into these parts was come to the knowledge of his enemies, they assembled them in greate number, and in all possible hast they went to the Towne of Coine[2] in the ouer part of the Liere[3] in the Countie of [Nevers],[4] w^ch^ Towne is distant from Parris a M. c. xx. pases,[5] and to this Towne there they sett there siege. In this Towne, in theire comminge vnto it, was a garrison of Borgonians; w^ch^, for because they had no plenty of victualls, couenaunted w^th^ there enemies at theire first comminge, that if they were not reskewed by the Kinge of England, or by the Duke of Burgoine, by the xv^th^ day of August they shoulde deliuer vnto them both the Towne and the Castell; w^ch^ appointment when it was shewed vnto the Kinge, he purueyed him of a chosen army, wherew^th^ he hasted him to deliuer the Towne from his aduersaries. In like manner the Duke of Burgoine, aduertized of that siege, hasted him w^th^ his hoast for the rescue of the same. In w^ch^ journey towards the Towne the Kinge was taken w^th^ a greiuious malady, by w^ch^ he was constrayned to stay at a Towne called Carbuill,[6] beyonde Parris x. M. paces; from whence he sent his brother John, Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Excester, and the Earle of Warwicke,[7] w^th^ his whole army to rayse this assiege; w^ch^ two Dukes and the Earle of Warwick accompanied them w^th^ the Duke of Burgoine. And all they together went to the Towne of Coyne, from whence there aduersaries, aduertized of there comminge, secretly fledd and

[1] Compiégne. [2] Cosne.
[3] Loire; in superiori Ligeri *Livius*. [4] *Blank in MSS.*
[5] millia passuum centum et viginti *Livius; Cosne is about* 100 *miles from Paris, so that* 120,000 *paces would be fairly accurate.*
[6] Corbeil; Carbueil *Livius*.
[7] *Livius mentions only Bedford and Exeter; the Translator adds Warwick from Monstrelet*, iv. 107.

aboade not there comminge. And so that Towne was deliuered from theire enemies, and perseuered in there first obeysance. In this time that noble and mightie Duke of Brittaine sent his chauncellor, the Bisshopp of Maunt,[1] and the Bisshoppe of Venice,[2] accompanied w^th^ two temporall lords and other councellors, w^th^ such authoritie and power to affirme and approue for him and his heires the same peace w^th^ all the articles that was late concluded at the Citty of Trois, betwixt the two Kings of England and of Fraunce. But the messengers of these ambassadors, by reason of Kinge Henrie his disease, tooke none effect at that time. Neuerthelesse the saide Duke of Brittaine in his owne person performed the effect thereof after the Kings death in the Cittie of Amyans.[3] The Kings disease dayly increased, vntill that most Christian Kinge yealded his soule to God, departed this life in the Castell of that is called Bois de Vistenne[4] not farr from Parris; where at that time was present Kinge Charles and the two Queenes. But tofore his death this most prudent Kinge in his Testament disposed the care and garde of the younge Prince, his sonn, and the defence of the Realme of Englande, to his most deere brother, Humphrie, Duke of Glocester, who faithfullie defended that noble Prince Henrie, and gouerned and protected this his Realme in all peace and good obedyence, vntill he was passed the state of childhoode and of abilitie to see and prouide for the gouernance of his Realme. But the custody of the bodie of the younge Prince the Kinge committed to his vnckle the Duke of Excester, to endoctrine him in all good manners.[5] And the reuenews of the Dutchie of Normandie the Kinge bequeathed to his right puissant brother John, Duke of Bedforde, for the gouernance and defence of the same Dutchie and of the Realme of Fraunce.

[6] But to recite the manner of his departing from this present Enguerunt.

[1] Nantes. [2] Vannes; Vennes *Livius*.
[3] Amiens. [4] Bois de Vincennes.
[5] tui tutelam, primasque defensiones et curam Humfredo Gloucestriae duci, serenissimo tuo patruo, qui te summa fide tuaque tutatus est ad hos dies quibus te florentem et faustum videmus; mores autem, custodiam corporis, et doctrinam tuam illi Thomae Excestriae Duci *Livius*.
[6] *Monstrelet*, iv. 111–16.

life, when this goodly and Christian Kinge was vndoubtedly acertained of his phisicions that the time of his resolucion approached so nighe and w^th^in two houres, he called unto him the confessor and diuers other spirituall men, w^th^ whome he saide the vij psalmes of pennance, and the Letanie w^th^ the suffrages accustomed. And when in the ende of miserie[1] he came to this verce *benigne fac domine*, and wherein he contayned these words.[2] 'O good Lord, thou knowest that if 'thie pleasure had bin to haue suffered me to liue my naturall 'age my firme purpose and intent was, after I had established 'this Realme of Fraunce in sure peace, to haue gon and 'visited Iherusalem, and to haue reedified the walls thereof, 'and to haue expulsed from it the Miscreants thine aduer-'saries.' And when he had finished those words, he commaunded his priest to say forth and to accomplish there seruice begunn. W^ch^ done, after he had receaued the Sacraments of the Alter, and of extreame vunction,[3] about that time that his phisicions had prefixed, he rendered his spirit vnto God, the last day of August, in the yeare of our Lord God 1422, and of his raigne the tenth yeare, and the xxxvj^th^ yeare of his age.[4] For whose death the Duke of Bedford, his brother, and the Duke of Excester, his vncle, and generally all the other Princes, Lords, Estats, and Commons of Englande made greate lamentacions and bewaylings in right great anguish and heauines. Shortlie after his departinge his entrells were entered in the Church of S^t^ More de Fessens,[5] and his corps well embalmed and seled, and was inclosed in a circle of lead.[6] In this time the Duke of Burgoine came to Bois de Vincent, where the Kinge departed, to visite and comfort the two Dukes and the other estats of Englande, that were there at that time; and after a fewe daies he departed

The Death of Kinge Henrie, 1422.

[1] *Psalm* li (*Miserere mei, Deus*) *verse* 18.

[2] quand vint à *Benigne fac Domine*, où il y a *muri Hierusalem. Monstrelet.*

[3] After he had . . . vunction *inserted by the Translator.*

[4] in the yeare . . . age *inserted by the Translator. If Henry was born in August*, 1387, *as commonly stated, he died in his* 36*th year. But Elmham* (*Cronica Regum, ap. Engl. Hist. Review*, xxv. 62) *gives* 16*th Sept.* 1387, *which is probably correct.*

[5] Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.

[6] son corps bien embaumé fut mis en un cerceuil de plomb *Monstrelet.*

from thence and went to Parris. The corps of the Kinge accompanied w^th^ all the Lords, Dukes, Estats and commons of England, that were for that time present there, and also manie Lords and greate Estats, as well of Fraunce and Normandie, as of Burgoine and Picardie, and also of diuers other places, was brought in greate order to Parris, and was sett vp w^th^in the Church of our Ladie;[1] where were done for him right solemnely exequies w^th^ distribucion of money, and greate almes to poore people right aboundantly; and from thence after a short journey he was brought to Roane, where he aboade longe. In this meane time those Dukes of Bedforde, of Burgoine and of Excester, w^th^ other greate Lords, assembled them together at Parris to councell and to deliberat vppon the gouernaunce and intertaininge of the Realme of Fraunce. At w^ch^ assemblie and councell it was couenaunted and promised againe amongest them to continewe and holde all the Articles of Peace, that were lately treated and graunted betwext the Kinges of England and of Fraunce before recited by order. And after w^ch^ councell the Duke of Burgoine returned w^th^ his companie into Artois and Flaunders, and the Duke of Bedforde w^th^ the other Estats of England to Roane to ordayne and dispose of the affaires for the Dutchie of Normandy, where at that timerested the body of the Kinge: to w^ch^ place also about that time was brought the Queene of England in greate apparrell. When all things necessarie were prepared for the conueyaunce of the deade Kinge into England, his body was laide in a Chariot, w^ch^ was drawne by foure greate horsses, and aboue the deade corps, they laide a figure made of boyled hides or leather representinge his person as to the similitude of a lyuinge creature, vppon whose heade was sett ann imperiall dyadem of golde and precious stones, and in his right hand he helde a scepter royall, and in his left hande a bowle of goulde; and in this manner adornede, was his figure layde in a bedd in the said Chariot, w^th^ his visage vncouered toward the heauens; and besides that when the body shoulde passe thorough anie

[1] *So Monstrelet; but other authorities state that the procession did not enter Paris, and that the body of the King rested at St. Denis. See Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 176, *ed. Tuetey*.

good Towne a cannopie of maruelous great value, such as is vsed to be borne ouer the blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christy daye, was borne ouer[1] the Chariot by men of greate worshipp. In this manner, accompanied of the Kinge of Scotts, and of all Princes, Lords, and Knights of his house, he was brought from Roane to Abbevile, where the corps were set in the Church of S^t^ Offrane.[2] In w^ch^ Church, as well as in all other places, seculer priests and other spirituall men in greate number watched w^th^ the corps both by day and by night; and as well rydinge and iornynge, as abidinge and soiorninge, the one after the other incessantly sange accustomed seruice and exequies for his soule. And daylie where the body rested, they sange masses for his soule, from the beginninge of the day vntill noone w^th^out ceasinge. From Abbuile he was brought to Hedin,[3] and from thence to Menstraull,[4] and so from Bullion[5] to Callis.

In all this journey were manie men about the chariot clothed all in white, w^ch^ bare in there hands torches burninge. After whome followed all the housholde seruaunts clothed in blacke, and after them came the principall Lords & Estates of the Kings blood, adorned in vestures of lamentacions and mourninge. After all this from the saide corps the distance of two miles English followed the Queene of England right honnorablie accompanied.

In this manner they entred Callis, from thence after a fewe daies they departed and continewed there journeys by water and by lande, vntill they came to London, where they arriued the day before S^t^ Martins in Winter.[6] And when they shoulde enter the Cittie tenn Bisshopps w^th^ theire pontificall adornements reuested, and manie Abbotts mitored, and manie other men of the Church in greate number, w^th^ a right greate multitude of cittizens of the same Citty, went out thereof to meet the corps and receaue it w^th^ due honnour. And all the saide spiritualtie, singinge the offices accustomed in like case, conueyed the saide corps by London Bridge and by Lumberd

[1] the blessed . . . ouer *om. B.*; qu'on la accoutumé de porter sur le corps de Jésus-Christ au jour du Saint-Sacrement *Monstrelet*; great value, was borne ouer the Chariot *Stow.*

[2] St. Wulfram; *Monstrelet has* S^t^ Offren, *Stow* S^t^ Offrane.

[3] Hesdin. [4] Montreuil. [5] Boulogne. [6] 10th November.

street thorough the Cheape, vnto the Cathedrall Church of S^t^ Paule. When the Chariot w^th^ the body shoulde passe thorough the Cittie, the Princes and the Lords of the Kings lynage went next vnto it mourninge and bewaylinge the Kings death. Vppon the formost of the iiij^or^ horses that conueyed the chariote were imbrodered the auntient Armes of England and of Fraunce, in one shielde quartered; vppon the second horses couerture was depainted the Armes of England and of Fraunce in one shielde quarterly, w^ch^ armes the same kinge vsed to beare in his life days; and vppon the cloth wherew^th^ the third horse were couered was imbrodered the Armes of Fraunce, w^thout^ any manner difference; and vppon the fourth horse were the Armes imbrodered that the puisant kinge Arthure by his life vsed to beare, w^ch^ were three Crownes of golde in a shielde of ashur. When his exequies were solemnely finished in S^t^ Paules Church in London, he was brought from thence to be interred in the Abbey of Westminster amonge his noble auncestors; at w^ch^ interment all things generally were done more honnorablie and solemnely then had bin seene in England at the buryinge of anie Kinge or Prince of longe time before. And in all this longe voyage from Boys de Vincent to Westminster the Kinge of Scotts accompanied the dead body, nor he neuer departed from the Queene vntill the buryinge of the Kinge.[1]

Kinge Henrie buried at Westminster.

Policronicon.

Thus this most victorious Kinge and renowned entred the waie decreed for everie creature, in the flower and most lustie time of his age.[2] In the time of his Raigne he was maruelous sage and circumspect, well expert in the things wherew^th^ he intermedled. He was also stronge, hardie and of high courage: for the little time he raigned he atchiued manie and greate Conquests in Fraunce, and more then anie of his auncestors of longe time past coulde attaine vnto. And vndoubtedly he was so much feared and dreade amongest his Princes, Captaines, and Commons that [3] the greatest Lord of his Companie how familier soeuer he were, w^ch^ durst in any thinge disobey his commaundement or ordinances, either Englishmen or Frenchmen, he ponished him w^th^ due justice.[4]

Translator.

[1] *Policronicon*, p. 232.
[2] *Quoted by Stow; H. omits this paragraph.*
[3] that not *B.*
[4] *Monstrelet*, iv. 116.

Titus Liuius.[1]

After all these thinges and ceremonies of his buryinge were solemnly finished, as is tofore rehearsed, the Three Estates of the Realme of England assembled them together in greate number to take aduise and deliberacion amongest them, what was most necessarie to be don for the reigement and gouernaunce of the saide Realme of England; where they concluded to take for theire kinge th'only sonn of the late Kinge Henrie, whose name was also Henrie, w^ch^ was the vj^th^ of that name since the Conquest of England, who at that time was but [eleven][2] monthes of age or thereabouts; vnder his obedience (notwithstandinge his tender age) they wholie submitted themselues, and gaue vnto him his estate royall; duringe whose infancie, the gouernaunce of this realme was committed to the Duke of Glocester, and the gard of his person to the Duke of Excester, accordinge to the minde and disposicion of the late Kinge his Father. And to the Duke of Bedford, by the aduise of the Kings greate councellors, was geuen the reigement, tuition, and gouer[n]ment of the Realme of Fraunce, who right wisely, nobly, and manly ruled and gouerned the saide realme, for so longe as it pleased God to giue him life in this worlde, vnder the Kinge his Nephewe.

Enguerunt.

[3]About this time the Duke of Bedforde was constituted Regent of Fraunce, the Kinge of Fraunce was surprised and taken of a greiuous and incurable maladie, by constraint whereof in his Pallace called S^t^ Paule in the Cittie of Parris the xxij^th^ day of October, wherein the feast of xj M. virgins is solemnized, in the yeare of our Lord God M. iiij. C & xxij, and of his raigne the [forty-sixth][4] yeare, he rendered his spirit vnto God, at whose departinge were present his Chaunceller, his high Chamberlaine, his Almoners, and his confessor, w^th^ certaine others of his officers and seruaunts to a smale number, by whome he was enclosed in a circule of leade and kept in the Chappell of the pallace vntill the cominge of the Duke of Bedford to Parris, w^ch^ was xx^tie^ daies after the departure of the Kinge. And when the said Duke was come,

[1] *Livius*, p. 95, *concludes his work with a summary of Henry's will, as on* p. 181 *above, but does not refer to any Parliament in England. Stow, however, quotes this paragraph as from Livius.*
[2] *Blank in MSS.* [3] *Monstrelet*, iv. 120. [4] *Blank in MSS.*

the body of the late Kinge Charles was Right Honnorablie and solemnely, w^th^ exequies and seruices accustomed in such cases, interred in Saint Dennis amongest the noble progenitors, w^ch^ obseruaunces and seruices fully compleate and done, the Kinge of Armes of Fraunce, accompanied of manie Herralds and pursevants, w^th^ a highe voyce, cryed ouer the sepulture of the French Kinge: 'God haue pittie and mercie of the right 'high, right excellent, and right mightie Prince Charles, Kinge 'of Fraunce, the vj^th^ of that name, our naturall and Soueraigne 'Lord'; and that cry done the same Kinge of Armes, accompanied as aforesaid, cryed in this manner: 'God of infinite 'mercie giue good life to Henrie by the grace of God Kinge 'of Fraunce and of Englande, our Soueraigne Lorde and 'Kinge.' And after that the saide officers of Armes cryed againe the same words the same tyme. After w^ch^ cry so done, all the same officers of Armes, and other officers of the Kings house redressed and aduaunced there mases, theire wands, theire white staues, and theire flower de luces on high, cryinge w^th^ one voyce: 'Viue le Roy Henrie, Viue le Roy Henrie.' And when all this seremoniall obseruances were accomplished and done the Duke of Bedford w^th^ the Estates and Commons returned to Parris, where he longe treated and councelled vppon the common weale of Fraunce.

After those days that noble Duke of Bedford reduced vnder the Kinges obeysaunce manie Citties, Castells, Townes, and fortresses to the number of xxxiiij^or^ or thereabouts, w^ch^ by the life of the saide Kinge Henrie his brother were not gotten; he also vanquished the battaile that was greate and cruell, that was foughten at Vernoile[1] in Perche, where he discomfited the Frenchmen and slewe of them the Lord Dowglass of Scotland, and foure other Earles of Fraunce, and of the Commons to the number of x. M. persons. At w^ch^ battaile was also taken the Duke of Alanson, and manie other greate Lords and Estats. He also vanquished and tooke that Pucell Johane, w^ch^ helde party w^th^ the Dolphine of Fraunce; who, after she was taken, was condemned at Roane, and there burnt. And amonge so manie and so valyant and noble acts by him, the said Duke of Bedford brought the younge Kinge Henrie into

Translator.

[1] Verneuil, 17th August, 1424.

Fraunce, who in the journey accompanied of the Duke of Yorke, the Cardinall of Winchester, of the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, of Arundell, and of Huntington, and of manie other greate Lords and estats, arriued at Callice vppon S^t^ Georges day, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1430, and in the eight yeare of his age;[1] and from Callice he went in greate array vnto Parris, where the xvij^th^ day of December next ensuinge[2] he was solemnely and maruelouslie tryumphant [3] annoynted and crowned Kinge of Fraunce by the hands of the Cardinall of Winchester; w^ch^ coronacion so solemnely done and finished the Kinge soiourned by certaine days at Parris; from whence he went to Roane, and from thence retourned home into England; where, after he was come to mans estate he continewed the rest of his raigne in greate warr and troubled busines, as in the Cronicles of England[4] more at large it is contayned, who pleaseth it to beholde. Duringe w^ch^ time the Duke of Bedford, for as longe as he was Regent of Fraunce, w^th^ the aide of the noble Earle of Salisburie, the Lord Talbot, the Lorde Scales, and divers other noble men, made and atchiued manie greate enterprises against him that named himself Dolphin of Fraunce, who, in like manner as the Kinge had also caused himself to be crowned Kinge of Fraunce; vppon whome the Duke of Bedford and the lords of England daylie conquered, increasinge Kinge Henries possessions in Fraunce, vntill Philippe Duke of Burgoine, who (as it is tofore rehearsed) was confederat to the Kinge of England both by his oath and by his writinge, contrary to his faith and honnor, forsooke the Kings partie and alied himself w^th^ the Dolphine. And the principall cause that mooued him to this alienacion of his aliance was the countries[5] of the countie of Pontewe and the Lordship of Macon w^th^ other lands w^ch^ the French Kinge gaue vnto him in full satisfaction and recompence of his fathers death for the more assurance, alyaunce, and amytie betwixt them.[6] Notwithstandinge at the Councell of Arras, where was concluded the fynall peace betwixt the French

Translator.

Policronicon.

Enguerunt.

[1] *It should be* reign. [2] *It was really* 17 Dec. 1431.
[3] *Blank in B.*; tryumphantly anointed *H.*
[4] *Policronicon*, pp. 234–64; *Brut*, pp. 497–533.
[5] Countesse *B.* [6] *Monstrelet*, v. 169, 170.

Kinge and the Duke of Burgoine, were manie greate offers made to the Kinge of England by the mediation of the Cardinall of Saint Croins,[1] who at that time was there present as a Legate sent from the Pope for the restablishinge of the peace betwixt the Realme of England and Fraunce; w^ch offers were there refused by the Cardinall of Winchester and of other greate Lords of England, that were present there at that Councell for the Kings partie. After this Councell, as by the Cronicles of those daies euedently appeareth, the Duke of Burgoine was vnto the Kinge and people of Englande as greate an aduersarie as he tofore had bene to the Kinge his Father and to him a friende and conductor, by meanes whereof the Kinge lost daylie and yearelie in Fraunce all those Castells, Citties, fortresses and Townes that the Kinge his Father and the Duke his vncle had conquered to his vse, vntill he was cleerely excluded and put out of Fraunce and Normandie, and also from all Gasconie and Guian; the losse whereof is enoughe and likely was more chargeable to Kinge Henrie the vj^th both in the losse of his people and also in the expences of his goods then was the conquest thereof to his noble progenitors. And no maruaile, for vppon th'englishe partie in loosinge thereof chaunced most commonlie the disaduauntage of the warr, w^ch as the common experience[2] proueth was occasion of great losse both of the people and of goods, wherein may be noted the confidence that is to be trusted and beleiued in batell considerations[3] that be made w^th alients and straingers, w^ch, as it is proued as well in these daies as in time past, for the more lucre and gayne daylie in breakinge there oathes and promises disolue theire considerations[3] and alyances at there pleasure, w^thout havinge respect either to theire honnor, or to theire conscience, so that only theire auaritious desire may be fulfilled.

And thus I ende this present pamphlet, treatinge of the actes and conquestes of that most victorious and uertuous Prince, Kinge Henrie the Fifte, w^ch in my Prohem I promised after my simple intendment, and as nighe as the sayinge of

[1] Ste. Croix. [2] expences *B*. [3] *Read* confederations.

them whome I haue taken for my Authors, and as my learninge woulde suffer to describe, and as plainely as my discretion woulde suffer to compile, leauinge the circumstaunces of the Cronicles of that most goodly and Christian King Henrie the Sixt, wherein at large be declared the actes of his time, to be searched of them that haue affeccion to the knowledge of the same. For because they seeme not to my purpose that I enterprised at the beginninge of this booke, where I deliberated to treate of that most puissant, most victorious and most glorious Kinge Henrie the fifte, whose actes were but of late, and since the beginninge of this my enterprise most to be regarded of vs Englishmen; w^ch^ through the high and victorious corage of our most renowned soueraigne Lorde, that nowe reigneth ouer vs, now of late entred into semblable warr against the Frenchmen, as well for the recouerie of his just and rightfull inheritance on that side of the Sea, w^ch^ the kinge hath hitherto wrongfullie detayned from his Grace, as for the reconciliacion of the same Frenche Kinge and his Confederates vnto our Ghostlie mother of the Church of Rome, against whome they[1] longe perseuered in theire obstinate rebellion. But nowe, praysed be the Creator and redeemer of the Vniuersall Worlde, is founde the way of peace well betwixt the Church of Rome and the French Kinge as betwixt our saide Soueraigne Lorde and of his Realme of England.[2] Pray we allwaies all vnto the Father, the Sonn and the holy Ghost, Three persons and one God, w^ch^ liueth and raigneth by the infinit worlde of Worldes. Amen.

The goulden knot,[3] that neuer had blott
In field nor yet in Towne,
Did gaeg his word and tried his sword
With enemies of renowne.

These Verses[4] were written vppon the Standard of the Earle Stafford at Agincourt Battaile.

[1] theire *B.* [2] *See Introduction*, pp. ix, x.
[3] *The Stafford badge.*
[4] *No doubt they come from the Earl of Ormonde's narrative. However, the then Earl of Stafford was a boy, and was not present at Agincourt. Possibly the reference should be to his father and to the battle of Shrewsbury.*

VARIATIONS IN HARLEY MS. 35.

[The majority of the minor variations are given in the footnotes. I here add some longer ones, together with others for which I could not find room, owing to the late discovery of the second manuscript. See Introduction, pp. vi–viii.]

Page	*Line*	
3–5	—	The Proem *Omitted.*
6	17	I hard that skarse twoo yeares were expired when you were left
10	16	his companie, but in so much
10	29	where in caues he continued, and vppon the topp of Lawton's hope Hill in Herefordshire, as is there obserued and affirmed, finished his miserable life.[1]
12	19	doubted lord and father
16	24	notable remembraunces
31	4, 5	to continewe peace amongst the religious Church
	27	right inheritances
	31	iust inheritaunce
47	13–16	This commaundment . . . Duke of Orleaunce *Omitted.*
51	29	Howbeit all other . . . name of the Towne *Omitted.*
52	2	
56	16	And when they approached *Omitted.*
56	25	But of this number . . . wthout harnes *Omitted.*
57	2	
59	21	bowes of the Englishmen
61	30	in that Mass he heard
67	17	But at the proachinge . . . might he deuise *Omitted.*
68	2	
77	21	his obligation
81	23	diuers others of his famyliers
84	7	so great an hoast by the next waies without their perill and damage as were in the way over so many rivers and brookes. Therefore he went about the further way for his people
92	9	After this great victorie . . . purpose and matter *Omitted.*
93	24	
95	3	goodly and rich stage of astate
97	11	was not knowne
98	26	invasable part of the Towne
108	13, 14	and assigned . . . his hoast *Omitted.*
109	6, 7	was deliuered. Where this mightie prince, the Duke of Glocester

[1] This is an otherwise unknown legend of Glendower's death. Lawton or Loughton's Hope is a reputed manor in the parish of Canon Pyon. In the reign of Henry VI, John, third son of Sir Thomas Monington, held it in right of his wife, Elizabeth Lawton. This seems to give a clue to the legend, for Thomas Monington was husband of one of Glendower's sisters. See Duncombe and Cooke, *Herefordshire: Hundred of Grimswade*, p. 73.

Page	*Line*	
115	19	Nyneteenth day
118	34	day of Julii
123	7–15	Howbeit . . . our matter *Omitted.*
123	18–27	The Duke of Exeter . . . my matter begunn *Omitted.*
128	5–9	after many circumlocucions it was concluded that the Ambassadours of the Dolphine shoulde come to the Kinge to Roane, there to treate wth him for peace; and so it was done after the deliueraunce of Roane; but because of the circumstances for the abridgement of our matter in this meane the Earle
130	16	In this meane time . . . to our former matter *Omitted.*
132	10	
154	21–23	The Englishmen were wearied no assaults with no myninge nor casting of trenches, nor with no erruptions and issues or assaults of theire enemyes. Wherefore the Castelanes proceeding almost the space of vij. moneths
158	10–12	Trois in Champaine; of whose comminge . . . aduertized accompanied . . . estates mett the Kinge
170	8	Howbeit, as I haue heard . . . to our former matter *Omitted.*
171	12	
173	28	Then to . . . purpose *Omitted.*
177	27, 28	into Englande, of whome many paide the fynaunces and after was deliuered. And many other
183	35	heavens. And the coverture of his bedd was of redd silke beaten with goulde[1]; and besides that
185	25–37	Thus this most . . . ponished him wth due justice *Omitted.*
190	28–33	The goulden knot . . . Agincourt Battaile *Omitted.*

[1] This translates a sentence of Monstrelet which is omitted in *B*.

GLOSSARY

A

abidē, to await, 34; to stop, 50; to stay, 64; 'aboad,' 44.
abiect, cast off, 22.
able, fit, 81.
aboundant, abounding, 11.
absolue, to absolve, to perform, 94.
abyde, *see* **abide**.
accombrance, trouble, discomfort, 64.
accompt, to account, 133; **accoumpted**, numbered, 33.
accord, to agree, 70, 100.
accustomable, habitual, 29.
accustomed, usual, habitual, 144, 155.
acertain, *see* **ascertain**.
actes of youth, youthful conduct, 11.
action, *apparently used in the sense of* a legal process, *and so meaning* dispute, 31.
actiuenes, activity, 16.
addressed, prepared, got ready, 36.
adioyn, to add, to set next to, 3.
admaruelled, surprised, 144.
aduance, to go forward, 'advanced himself,' 12.
aduenture, to take the chance of, 87; to venture, to attempt, 76.
aduertise, to inform, to warn, 11, 27, 146.
aduertisement, warning, 134; information, 143.
aduisement, consideration, 20.
aduising, considering, regarding, 141.
aduoutrie, adultery, 29.
affect, to like, 157.
affection to, to haue, to have liking for, 190.
affectuouslie, affectionately, 46.
afflicte, afflicted, 179.
after, in accordance with, 133, 163.
age, 'natural age,' natural term of life, 182.
agony, distress of mind, 14, 102.
agregat, collected together, 7.
aide hand, assistance, 30.
alients, aliens, foreigners, 189.
ambassage, embassy, 128.
amoue, to amove, to abolish, 96.
anguishes, sufferings, 167.
anker, anchor, 70.
anker, anchorite, hermit, 20.
apparrell, equipment, 183.
apparrell, to dress, 12; to equip, 28, 124.
apparrellinge, equipment, 27.
appayred, impaired, damaged, 106.
appeach, to put an end to, 168.
appeales, *perhaps for* peals, *either* peals of bells, *or* cheers, 65.
appeasinge, pacifying, 96.
apperceiue, to perceive, 148.
applied them, directed themselves intently, 43.
appoint, to make agreement with, 103.
appointment, agreement, terms of capitulation, 39.
apposicion, affixing, 156.
approbrious, opprobrious, 26.
approued, proved, 170.
apte, suited, fit for, 25.
araise, to eradicate, 12.
arayse, arrayse, to raise a siege, 94, 114.
arbalester, crossbowman, 56.
ardent, keen, zealous, 113.
arised, rose up, 37.
array, dress, 63.
arsone, saddle-bow, *French* arçon, 66.
artificiall, ingenious, 146.
ascertain, acertain, to make certain, to inform certainly, 69, 182.
ashur, azure, 185.
asperance, hope, 8; *see* **esperance**.
asperly, roughly, 155.
assaye, to test, to make trial of, 107.
assayled to skale, sprang to scale; *a tautologous expression, there may be some confusion with* assayed, 89.
assembled, collected together, 63.
assemblies, gatherings together, musters, 119.
assend, to 'assend the sea', to set sail, 33, 67; 'assended the carricks,' scaled, climbed up on, boarded, 70; to scale walls, 90.
assiege, a siege, 34, 109.
assiege, to besiege, 10, 86.
assurance, safety, protection, 112, 114.
atchiue, to achieve, 38.
attaine, attayne, to attend, 'attayne upon their war,' 29; to attend to, 58; **attaine to**, to obtain, 87, 153, to reach, 112.

attame, to subdue, 7.
attempt, to try to fulfil, 58.
attent, to attend, 107.
avantgard, the vanguard of an army, 82.
avayleable, profitable, 114.
avoyd, to put away, 13; to discharge, 20, 29; to leave, 103, 131; to get rid of, 137; 'avoyded the river of the stakes,' 152.

B

bacinet, *see* basnett.
bararer, barrier, 169.
baselict, basilisk, a kind of cannon, 86.
basnett, a basinet, a light helmet, *then* men equipped with basinets, 52, 55.
batell, battle, *adj.* warlike, 189.
battaile, battell, a battalion, 43, 59; warlike array, 77.
beaten, stamped in metal, 54; battered, 71.
befight, to fight with, 50.
beningly, benignly, graciously, 24, 25.
behest, a promise, an undertaking, 145.
behoueful, behoveful, useful, 77, 173.
belong to, to concern, 73.
bestrid, stood over, 60.
bin, been, *passim.*
blandish, to flatter, 145.
blessaunt, *mistake for* blessed, 26.
boord, table, 63.
borderers, neighbours, 127, 153.
Borgonian, Burgundian, 75.
boysterous, boisterousness, 64.
bren, to burn, 20,
briefely, shortly, soon, 20, 24.
brodar, broader, 59.
bruite, din, 'bruite and noyse,' 59, 120.
busilie, actively, 89; earnestly, 179.
busine, buysine, a trumpet, 52.
busines, occupation, care, 188.

C

calltrapp, an instrument covered with spikes, 122.
carrick, a carrack, a ship of large size, 69.
cast, to discharge a gun, or engine, 33; 'to cast ditches,' to dig out and throw up the earth at the side, 112, 129.
castelines, castilians, castle-keepers, garrisons of castles, 154, 158.
causey, causeway, 35.
cautellous, cautious, 39.
cease, to stop, 73.
champion, champaign, open, flat, 98.
charge, burden, business, 15.
chase, pursuit, 120.
chase, to put to flight, 78, 119.
chaunce, to chance, to happen, 87.
chayre, chair, a litter, 12, 116.
chevish, to bargain, 73, 96.
circle, circule, a coffin, *French* cercueil, 183, 186.
circute, circuit, neighbourhood, district, 113; radius, 126.
cleerelie, clearly, fully, 13, 137.
close, enclosed, 144.
collett, a collect, 71.
common, general, public, 4.
complices, supporters, 164.
conclude, to decide, 128; 'conclude upon,' 135.
condiscend, to condescend, to agree, to determine, 42, 103, 139.
conduct, to lead, to command, 116.
conduct, leadership, 34; a guide, an escort, 127.
conductor, a leader, a commander, 50; a guide, an escort, 127.
confidence, to trust, 29.
conforme, to establish, 31.
confounde, to destroy, 102.
conserue, to preserve, to protect, 112.
constance, constancy, consistency, 40.
contamynable, capable of being contaminated, *here perhaps*, contaminated, 29.
contentacion, contentment, 35.
contex, to set in context with, 3.
contrarious, adverse, 70; opposed to, 103.
contrary, to oppose, 43.
conuenient, suitable, 8, 171.
conuersacion, intercourse, 15; occupation, 28; behaviour, 29.
conuey, to convoy, to escort, 127, 171.
conueyaunce, transportation, 32.
corporall, bodily, 47.
couert, covert, hidden, secret, 133.
couetous, *by confusion of endings for* couetise, covetousness, 20, 45.
couller, colour, *metaphorically*, pretence, 72.
countervayle, to equal, 136.
courour, courier, scout, 50.
course, 'to run a course,' to attack, 57.
cowardnes, cowardice, 43.
cruell, severe, keen, 87, 118.
cry, to proclaim, *French* crier, 187.
cry, proclamation, *French* cri, 187.
Cuntrie Councell, council of the country, 11.

D

deale, 'some deale,' somewhat, 145.
declyne, to decline, *of the day*, 62; to divert from a course of conduct, to dissuade, 72.
default, lack, 7.
defence, defensive power, 107.

defence, to defend, 129.
defensable, defensible, capable of defence, strong, 41, 43; useful for defence, defensive, 122.
deinties, luxuries, pleasures, 25.
deliber, to take counsel, to resolve, 24.
deliberacion, counsel, 32.
deliberate, to resolve, 103, 108.
deliuer, to deliver, to release, 170; to yield up, 121; 'I have deliuered to write,' I have devoted myself to write, *translation of* accensus sum, 6.
deliueraunce, deliverance, surrender, 118.
deliuerie, delivery, surrender, 137.
delve, to dig. 80.
demonstraunce, demonstration, 16.
denie to, to refuse, 24.
denounce, to announce, to proclaim, 24, 74.
depainted, depicted, 185.
depart, to separate, 75, 131; to leave, 80; 'departed,' died, 182.
depece, depease, depessh, to break in pieces, 65, 86, 171.
depute, to assign, to appoint, 38, 81.
derogation, downfall, 134.
desirous, desirable, 13.
desperate, despairing, 39.
detrench, to cut asunder, to cut to pieces in battle, 90.
deuide to, to divide amongst, 41.
dificill, difficult, 34.
disanker, to raise anchor, 70.
disappoint, to fail, to fall short of one's expectation, 52.
discouncell, to advise against, 69.
discourage, the state of discouragement, despair, 71.
discrete, discreet, prudent, 24.
discrie, to descry, to espy, 126.
discrimes, hazards, *Latin* discrimina, 68.
disease, inconvenience, discomfort, 64.
diseased, sick, in ill-health, 12.
disguise, to dress fantastically, 11.
disme, a tax of a tenth, 77.
displace, to dislodge, 125.
displeasure, injury, 37, 153.
disport, sport, diversion, 74.
disposed, arranged, ordered, 54; 'disposed them,' 120.
dispouverd, unprovided, destitute (*perhaps an anglicizing of* despourvu), 95.
disseuer, to divide, 56.
dissolue, to dissolve, to break up, *of a siege*, 69, *in passive sense*, 109; to annul, 138.
distress, to rob, to plunder, 17, 127.
disturbe, to interrupt, 42.
diuinely, by God's aid, 51.
doctrin, an instruction, 13.
dole, lamentation, 44.
domage, damage, hurt, 54.
dominacion, lordship, 165.
dool, to dole out, to apportion, 21.
doubtinge, fearing, 52.
drowned, sunk in the water, 119.
droytes, rights, *French* droits, 163.

E

elate, elated, puffed up, 15.
elect, exalted, 65.
electe, to choose, to select, 106.
embattell, to set in order for battle, 120.
embush, to ambush, 142.
eme, uncle, xxii.
empech, empessh, to impeach, to hinder, to bring to nought, 20, 42.
encombred, encumbered, troubled, 110.
endoctrine, to teach, 181.
endure, to last, 22.
enforce, to strengthen, 9, 34, 44.
engendred, generated, 173.
enhaunce, to advance, to raise, 78; *see* **inhaunce**.
enquest, quest, enterprise, 148.
ensewer, a follower, 6.
entended, intended, with the intention, 180.
enter, entre, to go into, to embark on a ship, 33; to start on a journey, 43; to begin negotiation, 156.
entre, *see* **entry**.
enterprise, to undertake, 7.
enterprising, an undertaking, 3.
entertayne, to have care for, 5.
entirely, fully, 26.
entreaty, negotiation, 109.
entrells, entrails, 182.
entry, entre, way in, 33; start, beginning, 31.
environ, to surround, 10; *see* **inviron**.
erect, erected, 40.
err from, to disagree, 100.
erudicions, doctrines, maxims, 13.
esperance, hope, 29, 119.
espie, a spy, 50.
estate, state, rank, position of precedence, 8, 51, 63; an individual person of high rank, 12, 27, 33; estates of the realm, 171; state, pomp, 179; 'siege of estate,' seat of state, 95; 'man's estate,' 188.
euanished, disappeared, past away, 128.
euidently, clearly, 'evidently proved,' 34.
excede, to excel, to surpass, 121.
exiled, distant, absent, 3, 93.
expulsed, expelled, 182.
extreamelie, to the utmost, fully, 15.

F

facound, facund, eloquent, elegant, 3.
faculties, goods, 99.
falsh, false, 10.
fame, report, 17.
faultey, defective, ill-kept, 147.
fayle, to fail, to lack, 122.
fear, to frighten, 103, 133.
fearde, dared, defied, 42.
field, level, open country, 34; field of battle, 9, 28; a battle, *simply*, 46, 52; battle array, 36, 53.
fifteen, a tax of a fifteenth, 77.
fire-hott, hot from the fire, 111.
fixed, 'fixed with stakes,' with stakes fixed fast in, 44.
fludd, flood, a river, 44, 109, 174; floods of the sea, 109. *On* p. 109 *in one place it represents* fluvius, *in the other* fluctus.
force, to regard, to care for, 133.
foreclose, to exclude, to shut out, 35.
fortune, to happen, to befall, 22, 128.
foryner, a forager, 102.
found, supplied with necessaries, 7.
frame, wooden framework, 113.
frustrate, frustrated, deceived of, 31, 112.
furder, further, longer, 84.
furnish, to perform, 38.
fynaunce, revenue, 27; payment, fine, 41, 176.
fyre, to drive away by fire, 105.

G

gaeg, to gage, to pledge, 190.
garnish, to decorate, to furnish, to equip, 35 (*of walls with towers*), 85 (*of a town with provisions*), 122 (*of a city with citizens*).
gate, way, manner, 171.
generacions, begetting of children, 16.
geometrie, the science of measurement, 154.
gettinge, capture, 93.
geue, to give, 17.
ghostlie, spiritual, 19.
goe, to walk, 12.
graunt, to grant, to agree to, to consent, 169, 183.
greiue, to grieve, to distress, 102.
ground, country, district, 52.
guerdion, guerdon, reward, 7.

H

habiliments, apparatus, equipment, 81.
habillitie, capacity, 176.
habitacion, dwelling, *metaphorically*, 40.
hall, *used for the King's head-quarters*, the royal tent on land, 36, 95; the King's ship in the fleet, 80.
hallowe, to keep a sacred feast, 155.
hanginge, in suspense, undecided, 100.
harbor, to shelter, to lodge, 62.
harbour, shelter, 50.
hard, heard, 6.
hardie, hardy, brave, 12; daring, 91.
hardines, valour, 33.
harnes, armour, 53.
haule, *see* hall.
heauines, grief, 61, 182.
hight, the top, of a hill, 34; of a building, 65; of a rock, 101.
holme, homely, 3.
howe well, however, 56.
humane, 'humane sciences,' polite learning, 6; 'humane condicion,' the state of mankind, 31.
huke, hewke, a soldier's loose cloak with a hood, 66.

I

ilett, eyelet, 11.
imagine, to devise, 111.
imbordered, embroidered, 143.
impeach, to hinder, 130, 157.
impetiouslie, impetuously, 142.
importunate, grievous, 134.
inclose, to enclose, to shut in, 38, 126; to shut, 146; to cover, 120.
incombred, encumbered, troubled, 64.
incontinent, immediately, 151.
inconveniences, dangers, difficulties, 83.
indifferent, impartial, neutral, 135, 143.
inditing, literary composition, 3.
indoctryne, to instruct, 6.
indure, to endure, 116.
indurate, hardened, 130.
inflate, puffed up, 42.
inforce, to strengthen, 59.
inhabit, to occupy as inhabitants, 91.
inhabitor, inheritor, owner, 134.
inhabitance, inhabitants, *properly* an inhabiting, habitation, dwelling; *here clearly used as equivalent to* inheritance, possessions, 30, 31, 32, 68, 96. *On* p. 31 *it translates* heritages, *and on that page H. reads* inheritances. *There is a somewhat similar confusion of* inherit *and* inhabit *in* The Tempest, Act II, sc. 2, 'the king being drowned, we will inherit here,' *and* Act iv. sc. 1, 'the great globe itself, yea, all which it inherit.'
inhaunce, to advance, 31.
inhauncement, increase, advancement, 40; excess, 83.

inioy, to enjoy, 42.
inioyn, to enjoyn, 45.
inlarge, to enlarge, 171.
inordinate, immoderate, 26.
inough, enough, 45.
inquest, a thing sought for, object, 113.
insigne, to instruct, 31.
insignement, instruction, 13.
insolency, disorderly conduct, 17.
instore, to put in store, to stock, 153.
instruct, instructed, 179.
insue, to ensue, to follow, 24.
intend to, to apply oneself to, to aim at, 59.
intendment, intention, 189.
intentife, heedful, 89.
intentiue, occupied with, devoted to, 153.
intermeddle, to concern oneself with, 41, 185.
intermit, to take part in, 135.
intertaininge, entertaining, management, 183.
intertexed, inwoven, 144.
intreate, to negotiate, 67.
intreatise, negotiation, 74.
intiteled, specified, 3.
intumulate, entombed, 20, 173.
inuade, to attack, 39.
inualish, to increase, 129.
inuasion, attack, assault, 38, 63.
inuasiue, offensive, adapted for attack, 117.
invelupted, enveloped, wrapped up in, 93.
inviron, to environ, to surround, to encircle, 35.
iourned, *see* **journey**.
issue, to make a sortie, 155; to go out, 75.
issue, way out, 37; a sortie, 124.

J

jeoparde, to hazard, 103.
journey, *properly* a day's work; a day's march, 46; a day's fighting, 47.
journey, to travel, 96, 173.

K

keepe, to guard, 'to keep the sea,' 86.
knowen, learnt, 98.
knowledge, to acknowledge, 169.

L

labour, to toil, to exert oneself, to endeavour, 11, 158; 'laboured in war,' 3.
lade, to draw off, to drain (ditches), 80.
lamentable, mournful, 132.
large, wide, ample, 85.
laud, praise, 5.
least, lest, 29.
legacie, an embassy, 132.
legate, an ambassador, 24.
lest, least, 85.
let, to hinder, to prevent, 38, 110; to allow, to suffer, 29.
licence, lycence, to grant permission, 32, 140.
licence, lycence, leave, permission, 11.
licible, lawful, permissible, 132.
liefer, more pleasing, preferable, 133.
light, active, not heavy (*of horses*), 66.
lightlie, for a slight or insufficient reason, 5; easily, 85.
lodge, to take one's post or residence at a place, 123.
lodge, a resting-place or dwelling, 158; *used in plural* a camp, 115.
lustie, pleasant, vigorous, 185.
lycence, *see* **licence**.
lymit, to limit, to fix, 25, 77, 107.
lynage, lineage, race, 131.

M

maker, *used of the Host in the Sacrament*, 13.
malengine, malinge, wicked artifice, 140, 159.
manace, to threaten, 94.
manly, *adj.* brave, 15, 168; *adv.* manfully, bravely, 17, 108.
margent, margin, 3.
marshall, martial, 126.
maruile, marvel, wonder, 52.
masonarie, belonging to a mason, 104.
maugre, in spite of, 117.
mayne, great, strong, 117.
meane, intermediate, middle, 22; 'meane way,' 157.
meanelie, in moderation, 11; observing the mean, 15; slightly, 6.
medicen, remedy, 108.
meeke, mild, gentle, 18; gracious, 97.
meekely, humbly, 135.
members, the Four Members or divisions of Flanders, 76.
minde, intention, disposition, 18, 165.
minish, to diminish, 117.
ministerie, mystery, craft, occupation, 80.
misbeleeuing, holding false opinions, 23.
mischiefe, misfortune, 88.
miscreants, unbelievers, 182.
misterie, craft, 73.
mitored, mitred, wearing mitres, 184.
mooue, to move, to stir (*war*), 139.
moouinge, removal, 72.

motion, movement, disturbance, 15; proposal, 156.
mount upon, to ascend, 34.
municions, fortifications, 139.
musicks, musical instruments, 52.
mutable, changeable, fickle, volatile, 40.

N

namelie, especially, 5.
naturall, legitimate, 12.
ne, nor, 48.
nesessible, necessary, 154.
neupmatis, *sc.* *πνεύματος*, of the Holy Spirit, 21.
newe imagined, newly devised, 111.
nobles, noblesse, nobility, 31.
nowe foorth, henceforth, 162.
noyous, vexatious, harmful, 10.

O

obeysance, obedience, 9.
objection, a charge, an accusation, 170.
obtaine, to attain, 16; to get possession of, 115; to win a battle, 44.
occision, slaughter, 9.
occupy, to busy oneself, 179; to practise, 5.
offer, to make an offering at Church, 68.
on, one, 10.
one, on, 44, 120.
only, *adj.* mere, 86.
open, public, 8, 178; manifest, 29.
openly, publicly, 27, 126.
oppress, to weigh down, to burden, 15; to constrain, to press hard, 129; to bear down, to crush in battle, to overcome, 8, 106.
oppression, pressure, force, 55; crushing defeat, 106, 110, 128.
orator, spokesman, 128.
ordayne, to arrange, 101.
order, state, 183.
ordinance, order, 49.
over, upper, 104, 180.
ouerpass, to pass over, to omit, 159.
ouertrauelled, overworked, exhausted, 105.
owe, ought, 31.

P

pacify, 'to be pacified,' to make peace, 128; 'pascefied,' reduced to peaceful submission, 156.
paction, agreement, 97, 165.
pamphile, pamphlet, 4.
partie, partey, part, side, 99.
pascefie, *see* **pacify**.
pase, pace, 43.
passage, crossing, ford, 44; passing, journey, 47.
passe, to cross (*the sea*), 32.
passinge, very, 17.
payne, to take trouble, 3; to endeavour, 9, 84.
payne, punishment, 169.
penury, lack, 63, 128.
peopled, 'well-peopled,' populous, 98.
perform, to fulfil, to complete, 80.
perished, destroyed, 111.
perseuere, perceuere, to persevere, to persist in, 9; to continue, 155.
perswacion, persuasion, allurement, persuasive argument, 40, 142.
perticuler, individual, personal, 4.
pile, peel, a fortified place, 175.
pirrills, perils, hazardous encounters, 113.
pixe, pyx, the box for the Host, 44.
place, room for, 37; a house, a residence, 73.
plaine, level, 10; a level, open place, 85; 'playne countrie,' open country, 122.
plenallie, fully, 142.
plenarly, plenarilie, fully, completely, 106, 159.
plenteous, fertile, 152.
plesaunt, favourable, 81.
pointment, appointment, agreement, 100.
politique, skilful, 111.
pollicie, policy, skill, 90, 93.
pompiously, pompously, in state, 178.
ponder, to consider, 94.
ponderous, heavy, troublous, 14.
poseye, a motto, 66.
possibillitie, capacity, the best of one's power, 90, 99.
power, *as a military term*, a body or force of men, 9, 39, 90.
pratique, experience, 3.
pray, booty, 35.
precinct, the environs, a district defined for purposes of administration, 107, 126.
prefixe, to state beforehand, to foretell, 182; to fix beforehand, 39.
prelatts, overseers, 138.
prelimit, to define, *or* settle beforehand, 99.
presedent, precedent, that which precedes, 92.
presentlie, in presence on the spot, 54.
preserue, to continue, 98.
pretence, opinion, understanding, 4, 29.
pretend, to intend, to design, 76.
pretory, the praetorium, or commander's tent, 40.
principallest, chief, 136.

priue, to deprive, 94.
proachinge, approaching, 67.
profit in, to make progress in, 6.
proper, one's own, 39, 75; 'the same proper,' the very same, 51; actual, 178.
propose, to offer for consideration, to propound, 25, 142.
proposicion, statement, speech, 25.
proprietie, that which is proper to, 22.
prossesse, process, 101.
proue, to approve, 159; to make proof of, 118.
prowes, prowess, 91; 'prowesses,' 152.
puissance, power, *in the sense of* an armed force, 138.
punition, punishment, 15, 165.
puruey, to purvey, to provide, 15, 77, 124.
puruеyaunce, provision, 52, 79.
putteth, 'of this number putteth no certainetie,' places, alleges, 56.

Q

quantetie, size, 86, 170.
quarells, arrows, 122.

R

raign, to arrange, to order, 22.
randsome, ransom, 74.
rapins, acts of plunder or violence, 137.
rayne, to prevail, 42.
reason to, to argue in favour of, 7.
rebellions, rebellious persons, 23.
receauer, a receiver, a collector of rents, 17.
recoile, **recoyle**, to drive back, 36; to retreat, 117.
recomforted, encouraged, restored to confidence, 148.
recoyle, *see* recoile.
redress, to set in place again, 187.
reduce, to translate, 3; to restore, 137.
reduct, reduced 'into writing,' 140, 162.
reduige (= **reduise**), to reduce, to set out, 7.
refer, to assign, to give the credit of, 65.
reffection, refreshment, 47.
refuse, to reject, 28.
reigement, regiment, rule, 4, 186.
repeate, to seek again, to demand back, 133; *Latin* repetere.
repell, to reject, 138.
repleate, replete, filled, 28; thickly set, 54.
replenish, to fill up, to make good, 84; to stock, 154.
replicacion, reply, 131.
repressed, reprised, resumed, 109.
reprise, to resume, 28, 45.
reproof, censure, 42.
request, a thing sought for, a quest, 74, 126.
require, to seek, 46; to demand, 83.
requisite, necessary, 29.
rereward, rearguard, 56.
rescues, reinforcements, 148.
resemblance, reassembly, 61.
resite, to recite, to relate, 51.
resolucion, formal decision, *or* statement, 158; dissolution, death, 182.
respecte, respite, 143.
resplendishinge, shining, brilliant, 8.
reuengement, vengeance, 128.
reuested, dressed in vestments, 184.
rewyne, ruin, 84.
right, custom, 'right of women,' 133.
rivage, shore, bank, 32.
roome, place, office, 20.
royotous, riotous, 19.
run, 'to run a course,' to charge, 57.
ruynate, ruinous, 81.

S

sacred, celebrated, *of a marriage*, 162.
sad, sober, discreet, xxxi.
sages, saws, maxims, 4.
say foorth, to recite, to deliver, 182; to preach, 130.
scelerate, wicked, 23.
science, a branch of learning, 6; a skilled craft, 73.
scituate, situated, 35.
scuraledy, scurrility, 29.
scute, a French crown, *écu*, 32.
search, to examine, to explore, 38.
seek to, to have resort to, 133.
seled, sealed, 182.
semblable, likely, suitable, 19; similar, 45; *adv.* likely, 145.
semblance, appearance, 37; likeness, 65; emblem, 143.
sentence, opinion, decision, 43, 84; understanding, 3.
seremoniall, ceremonial, 187.
seriouslie, seriatim, in order, 27, 79.
sewde, sued, 138.
shamefastnes, modesty, 144.
short, speedy, quick, 175.
shott, shooting weapons, 52; 'open shott,' free range, 111.
shutt, to shoot, 80.
siege, seat, 95.
simple, humble, *of persons*, 14.
singuler, individual, 80; personal, private, 159.
slea, to slay, 118.

slidd, sledge, 111.
slought, sloth, 102.
smale, small, fine, 110.
softlier, more gently, 48.
some deale, somewhat, 145, 148.
sought, searched, 90.
sound, to tend to, 4; to be heard, to spread abroad, 145.
sourd, to grow, 14.
soyle, soil, land, 20.
spaces, paces, 51.
speares, spearmen, 79.
speed, furthering, 108.
stage, scaffold, 65, 113.
stagne, pond, ditch, 151.
state, *see* estate. 'state royall,' royal seat of state, 172.
stomacke, pride, courage, 9, 14.
straight, close, confined, 85.
strainge, foreign, 68.
streightlie, closely, 37.
strenght, streinght, strength, 16, 44; 'strenghts,' strong forces, 86; efforts, 39.
stricken, struck, 82; 'stricken full,' thick set, 122.
strocken, struck, 78.
studie, endeavour, 85.
studie, to aim at, 76, 145.
stufe, stuff, goods, 82.
subtill, subtle, penetrating, 110.
suffrages, prayers, 61.
supportacion, support, 23.
sure, suer, certain, safe, 76, 146.
surely, safely, 143.
suretie, security, 39, 76.
suspect, suspicion, 13.

T

tabor, drum, 59.
tayle, tax, 27.
temporall, worldly, lay *as opposed to spiritual*, 28.
tenure, tenor, purport, 21.
teretts, rings, links, 12.
then, than, *passim*.
thicke, frequent, 113.
thicknes, depth, 56.
thridde, thread, 11.
tofore, before, *both of time and place, passim*.
torment, an instrument for hurling stones, *Latin* tormentum, 37.
trappers, the trappings of horses, 54.
trauell, trauaile, work, exertion, 61, 87.
trauelled, trauailed, troubled, 111, 179.
trauellinge men, labouring men, 73.
tuition, tuytion, guardianship, 6; protection, 85; a fortification, 109.

U, V

valiauntises, acts of bravery, 11.
valiauntnes, valiancy, courage, 141.
varlet, a serving man, 62.
vauntgard, vanguard, 62.
verce, verse, 182.
vestures of lamentacions, mourning dress, 184.
viewe, review, 30.
violent, strong, 104.
vnderset, to prop up, 111.
vneasie, difficult, 34.
vniuersal, whole, 28.
vnmeasurably, excessively, 132.
vnquietnes, disturbance, trouble, 127.
vnreformed, unrestored, not completed, 141.
voide, voyde, lacking, destitute, 3; empty, 96.
voyage, journey, expedition, 117.
voyde, to bring to nought, 20. *See* avoyd.
vplandish, countryfied, rustic, 110.
vse, to practise, to be accustomed, 14; 'vse thieselfe,' conduct thyself,' 15; 'vsed,' practised, in force, 118.

W

ward, a division of an army, 34.
whether, whichever, 56.
whole, main, chief, 52.
wholie, holy, 59.
whote, hot, 89.
witt, understanding, 3.

Y

yeouen, given, 32.
yf, if, 136.
ynough, enough, 88.
yre, ire, anger, 50.
y^t, that, 92.

MINET PU... LIBRA...

INDEX

A

Abbeville (Abbuile), harrassed by Armagnacs, 179; funeral procession of Henry V at, 184.
Aberystwith (Amberrstmuch), siege of, 10.
Acton, Sir Roger, supporter of Oldcastle, 22; executed, 23.
Agincourt, battle of, 51–62; numbers of killed at, lv, 61, 62; Olandyne killed at, 28; conduct of Henry V at, 93; verses on Earl of Stafford's banner at, 190.
Albret, Charles d', Constable of France, in command of French army at Agincourt, 46, 48, 51, 52, 55; makes knights before the battle, 56; slain, 62.
Alençon (Alamsom), siege of, 98, 99; ambassadors of Dauphin at, 100, 140.
—, Jean I, Duke of, at Agincourt, 47, 56; slain, 61.
—, Jean II, Duke of, captured at Verneuil, 187.
Amiens, English army before, 44; Duke of Brittany at, 53, 181; harrassed by Armagnacs, 179.
Anjou (Aniowe), 100.
Ann of Bohemia, Queen of Richard II, 20.
Argentan, siege of, 97.
Armagnac (Arminake), Bernard, Count of, besieges Harfleur, 69; killed, 128; his death foretold by St. Vincent Ferrier, xxxv.
—, Jean, Count of, 156, 164.
Arras, Philip, Count of Charolois at, 47; conference of, 188.
Arthur, King, his arms, 185.
Artois, 46, 183, 184.
Arundel, Earls of, *see* Fitzalan.
Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, adviser of Henry IV, xxi.
Aubvilliers, captured, 83.

B

Bar (Barrowe, Barry, Barrie), Edouard, Duke of, at Agincourt, 47, 56; slain, 61.
Barbasan, Sire de, captain of Melun, 167; refuses to surrender, 168; fights in single combat with Henry V, xxxvi, xxxvii, xliv, 168, 169; accused of complicity in the murder of John of Burgundy, *ib.*; his captivity and release, xvii, xxxvii, 170, 171.
Bardolph, boon companion of Prince Hal, lii–liv.
Baudemont (Bandmount), captured, 139.
Baugé (Bangue), battle of, 173.
Bayeux (Beauce), taken by Humphrey of Gloucester, 93; Henry V at, 106, 107, 116.
Beachy Head, 70.
Beauchamp, Richard, Earl of Warwick, receives Sigismund at Calais, xxxiii, 67; ambassador to John of Burgundy at Lille, 74; his retinue in 1417, 79; besieges Domfront, 108; at siege of Rouen, 123; ambassador to Charles VI at Provins, 142; at Troyes, 156; at Cosne, 180; accompanies Henry VI to France in 1430, 188.
Beauchamp, Richard, lord Bergavenny, his retinue in 1417, 79; at siege of Rouen, 127.
Beaufort, Henry, bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal, adviser of Henry V as Prince of Wales, xxi; accused of suggesting abdication of Henry IV, *ib.*; his quarrel with Clarence, xxii; arranges his niece's marriage with James I of Scotland, 174; crowns Henry VI at Paris, 188; at Conference of Arras, 189.
Beaufort, Joan, marries James I of Scotland, 174.
Beaufort, John, Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Somerset, taken prisoner at Baugé, 173; his sister, 174.
Beaufort (Beaforde), Thomas, Earl of Dorset and Duke of Exeter, captain of Harfleur, 41, 69, 71; defeats Scots in 1417, 116; takes Evreux, *ib.*; at siege of Rouen, 123; besieges Château Gaillard, 154; in command at Paris, 172; at Cosne, 180; present at death of Henry V, 182; guardian of Henry VI, 186.
Beaumont, lord, dies at Harfleur, 42 (*an error derived from* Monstrelet; *the lord Beaumont of* 1415 *was a boy*).

Beauvais, Sigismund at, 66; English embassy at, 74.
Bec Hellouin (Bikillrenan), captured, 106.
Bedford, Duke of, *see* John.
Bellême (Bolosme), captured, 99.
Bergavenny, lord, *see* Beauchamp, Richard.
Berri (Barry), Jean, Duke of, chief adviser of French King, 26, 27, 46; his death, 74.
Bethencourt, passage of Somme at, 45.
Bethlehem, the Charterhouse at Sheen, 20.
Blackheath, 68.
Blainville, Sire de, commands at Harfleur, 35.
Blamont, Count de, at Agincourt, 56.
Blanchard, Alain, commander at Rouen, executed by Henry V, xxxvi, 136.
Blanche Taque, 44.
Blangy (Bangay), 49.
Bohun, Joan, Countess of Hereford, xxxi *n*.
Bois de Vincennes (Vistennes), Henry V at, 178; dies there, 181, 182.
Bonmoulins (Bomolins), captured, 98.
Bonnières l'Escaillon (Bonyors Lestauillon), English army at, 49.
Bonport (Donport), 120.
Boucicault (Bouncicalt, Bonycault), Jean, marshal of France; at Agincourt, 51, 55; taken prisoner, 62.
Boulogne (Bullion), Sigismund at, xxxiii; funeral procession of Henry V at, 184.
Bouratier, Guillaume, archbishop of Bourges, his embassy to England, 24–6.
Bourbon, Jean, Duke of, at Agincourt, 47, 55; taken prisoner, 62 *n*.; his son, 142.
Bourchier, lord, *see* Stafford, Hugh.
Bourges, archbishop of, *see* Bouratier.
Bowet, Henry, archbishop of York, present at defeat of Scots in 1417, 116.
Brabant, Antony, Duke of, at Agincourt, 47, 55, 61; killed, 62.
Braquemont, Lionell, Sire de, ambassador to England, 24; surrenders Harfleur, 40.
Brie, 158.
Brieg (Brye), Louis, Duke of, in England with Sigismund, 67.
Briquebec (Breckourt), captured, 107.
Brittany, Jean, Duke of, with French King at Rouen, 46; at Amiens on way to Agincourt, 53; treats with Henry V, 100, 139; accepts Treaty of Troyes, 181.
Brut, The, or English Chronicle, use of by Tito Livio, xv; and by The Translator, xvi; its character, *ib.*; stories of Henry V in, xxx, xxxi, xlv, xlvi; tennisball story in, xliii. *See also* Caxton, William.
Burgundy, Jean, Duke of, seeks help from England in 1411, xxii, 10, 11; forbids his son to go to Agincourt, 47; negotiates with Henry V at Calais, 74, 75; rules at Paris in 1418, 128, 129; his negotiations with Henry V in 1419, 141–6; agrees with Dauphin, 145, 146; murdered, 151; his burial, 166, 167; punishment of his murderers, 156, 169, 172.
Burgundy, Michel, Duchess of, 166.
Burgundy, Philippe le Bon, Duke of, as Count of Charolais: prevented from going to Agincourt, 46, 47; acquires sword of Henry V, 62; receives Humphrey of Gloucester, 75; succeeds his father, 151; negotiates with Henry V, 151, 153, 156; takes part in Treaty of Troyes, 158–64; at siege of Melun, 167; fights in the mine, xxxvii; demands punishment of his father's murderers, 171, 172; at Cosne, 180; supports John of Bedford, 182, 183; abandons English alliance, 188, 189.
Burgundy, Philippe le Hardi, Duke of, 167.
Butler, *or* le Bouteiller, Sir Guy, captain of Rouen, 137.
Butler, James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, stories given on his authority, 3, 13, 67, 92, 130, 170; discussion of these stories, xx–xxxviii; his career, xvi–xviii; his interest in History, xviii; probable character of his work, xix; present at the Prince's disguising, xxv; use of his stories in *The Famous Victories* and by Shakespeare, xlix–lii, lvi.

C

Caen (Caene, Cane), siege of, 83–91; Castle of, 91–5; plunder of, xxxiv, 92; Henry V at, 95, 96, 116; French ambassadors at, 128; St. Peter's Church at, 91; St. Vincent Ferrier at, xxxv; Abbey at, *see* St. Stephen's.
Calais (Callice, Callis), prisoners of Harfleur surrender at, 41; Henry V's march to, 42, 43, 48; Henry V at, 63; Sigismund received at, xxxiii, 66, 67; negotiations at, in 1416, 74–6; sea-fight off, 75; funeral procession of Henry V at, 184; Henry VI at, 188; Henry V charged with diverting money from its defence, xxiii, xxiv.
Camber (Cambry), The, 70.
Cambridge, Earl of, *see* Richard.
Canterbury, archbishop of, *see* Arundel, Thomas, Chichele, Henry.
Capgrave, John, chronicler, his stories

of the death-bed of Henry IV, xxvii–xxix; tennis-ball story in, xliii.
Catherine of Valois, Queen of England, proposed marriage, 25; meets Henry V at Meulan, 144, 145; marriage arranged, 156; married at Troyes, 162; at Sens, 166; at Paris, 171, 172; goes to England, 172; crowned, 174; returns to France, 178; at Bois de Vincennes, 181; goes to England after Henry's death, 183–5.
Caudebec, agreement for surrender of, 127; surrendered, 137.
Caxton, William, his *Chronicles of England*, and *Policronicon*, xvi; incidents in Shakespeare derived from, liv, lv.
Celestins, monastery of, at Isleworth, xxxii, 20.
Chambrois (Cambrice), 106.
Champagne, 151.
Charenton (Charingdon), 157.
Charles VI, King of France, letter of Henry V to, 30–2; at Vernon in 1415, 39; his council at Rouen, 46; receives Warwick at Provins in 1419, 142; at conference of Meulan, 143–5; treats with Henry V, 151, 153, 156; at Troyes, 158–66; at Sens, 166; at Melun, 167; holds Parliament at Paris, 171–2; his poor estate, 178–9; at Bois de Vincennes, 181; his death and burial, 186–7; his infirmity, 27, 83, 141, 144, 156, 158–9.
Charles the Dauphin, 83; treats with Henry V in 1417, 100; appeal of Cherbourg to, 114; treats with Henry V in 1418, 128; and in 1419, 140; restores Burgundy to grace, 141; makes terms with Burgundy, 145–6; causes Burgundy to be murdered, 151; his troops in Maine, 155; provisions against, in Treaty of Troyes, 164–5; deprived of his inheritance, 172; is crowned as Charles VII, 188.
Charterhouse at Rouen, 123; at Sheen, 20.
Chastellain, Georges, chronicler, on story of Barbasan, xxxvii.
Château Gaillard, besieged, 153, 154; Barbasan imprisoned at, xxxvi, 170; its recovery by the French, *ib.*, xvii, xxxvi.
Cheap, 185.
Chef de Caux, Henry V lands at, 33, 34.
Cherbourg (Shearbroughe, Sesarboroughe, Caesarboroughe), siege of, 109–15.
Cherleton, Edward, lord Powis, captures Oldcastle, 23.
Cheve, river, 49.
Chichele, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, answers French ambassadors, 25; story that he counselled Henry V to war with France, l, liv.
Clarence, Duke of, *see* Thomas.
Clifford, John, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Col (Colle), Gautier, ambassador to England, 24.
Compiégne (Compine), Henry V at, 180.
Condé-sur-Noireau (Caudy), captured, 107.
Constance, Council of, 76.
Corbeuil (Carbuill), Henry V falls ill at, 180.
Corbie, English army at, 44.
Cosne-sur-Loire (Coine), siege of, 180.
Côtentin, The (Isle of Constantine), campaign in, 107.
Courcy, captured, 97.
Courtenay *or* Courtney, Edward, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Courtenay, Richard, bishop of Norwich, his death, 42.
Courtonne, captured, 106.
Coventry, alleged arrest of Henry V at, xli.
Créçy, battle of, 44.
Crépy in Valois, 178.
Crompton, Richard, legal writer, refers to Gascoigne story, xxxix.

D

Dammartin (Damputine), Count of, at Agincourt, 56.
Dampierre (Damphire), Sire de, admiral of France, at Agincourt, 55.
Danzig (Danske), Henry V obtains supplies from, 102.
Dauphin, The, *see* Charles *and* Louis.
Decembri, Pier Candido, his translation of Tito Livio's *Vita*, xiv.
Dijon, John of Burgundy buried at, 167.
Domfront, siege of, 108, 109, 123.
Dorset, Earl of, *see* Beaufort, Thomas.
Douglas, Archibald, Earl of, does fealty to Henry V, 77; killed at Verneuil, *ib.*, 187.
Dover, Henry V lands at, in 1415, 64; reception of Sigismund at, xxxiii, 67; fleet assembled at, 79.
Dreux, negotiations with Dauphin at, 140; captured by Henry V, 174.
Durham House, in the Strand, Henry V lodged there in 1412, xxiv.

E

Eastcheap, 'The hurling' by the Princes in, xxxix, xl, xlviii, l, li; Boar's Head in, xlii, xlviii.

Edward III, King of England, at Blanche Taque, 44; fights with Eustace de Ribaumont, xxxvii.
Edward, Duke of York, takes part in expedition of 1415, 33; at Harfleur, 37; brings the French heralds to the King, 48; captain of the vanguard, 49, 50; the English archers provided with stakes by his advice, 55; killed at Agincourt, 62.
Elmham, Thomas, chronicler, his *Life of Henry V*, xv; his account of the death-bed of Henry IV, xxviii; gives the tennis-ball story, xliii; the *Vita Henrici* falsely attributed to, xv. The Pseudo-Elmham: use of Monstrelet by, xv; amplifications of Tito Livio by, xxvi *n.*, xxx.
Eltham, Henry V at, 23.
Ely Place in Holborn, 73.
Elyot, Sir Thomas, author of *The Governour*, his story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, xxxviii, xl.
Emmerig, Dr. Oskar, on the tennis-ball story, xliv.
Erpingham, Sir Thomas, ambassador to France, 74.
Essay (Essey), captured, 98.
Estouteville (Disconteville, Cotevile), Charles, Sire d', in command at Harfleur, 35; surrenders as a hostage, 40; prisoner in England, 41 *n.*
Eu (Ewe), fight at, 43; captured, 139.
Eu, Charles d'Artois, Count of, at Agincourt, 55; taken prisoner, 62.
Evreux (Ebroicen), captured, 116; Henry V at, 140.
Exeter, Duke of, *see* Beaufort, Thomas.

F

Fabyan, Robert, chronicler, his story of Henry V's riotous conduct when Prince, xxix; not an invention of his own, xxxii; supplied material through Holinshed to Shakespeare, liii, liv.
Fagnon, 106.
Falaise (Phalleys), siege of, 100–6.
Falstaff, Sir John, the legend of, xli, xlii, l–liv.
Famous Victories of Henry V, The, old play, story of Prince and Chief Justice in, xl, xlix; tennis-ball story in, xliv; story of disguising in, xlix; story of receivers in, xlviii; Oldcastle figures in, xli; its historical sources, xlvii, l.
Fastolf, Sir John, his real character, xli; does not fit Falstaff, xlii.
Fastolf of Nacton, Sir John, xl, xlii.
Fauquembergue, Count of, at Agincourt, 56.
Ferrers of Chartley, Edmund, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Ferrier, St. Vincent, *see* Vincent.
Ficket Field, near Westminster, Lollards assemble at, 23.
Fitzalan, John, lord Matravers, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Fitzalan, John, Earl of Arundel, goes to France in 1430, 188.
Fitzalan, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, serves in French expedition of 1411, xxii, 11.
Fitz Hugh, Henry, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Flanders, Sigismund seeks passage through, 76; Philip of Burgundy in, 172, 183.
Foix, Gaston de, captures Pontoise, 147.
France, expedition to, in 1411, xxi, 11; Henry V contemplates conquest of, 24; preparations of French, 27; expedition of 1415, 33–64; Sigismund in, 66; alliance with Genoa, 69, 77; expedition of 1417, 81; Henry V made Regent, 162–4; expedition of 1421, 174; Henry VI crowned King of, 188; loss of English conquests in, 189; invasion of, by Henry VIII, x, 4, 190. Kings of, *see* Charles, *and* Louis.
Franel (Frenel), Pierre, bishop of Lisieux, ambassador to England, 24.
Fresnay-le-Viscomte, captured, 99, 155.
Frévent (Fremouch), English army at, 49.

G

Gaillart Bos, Sire de, at Harfleur, 35.
Gaillon (Galion), captured, 138.
Gascoigne, Sir William, Chief Justice, Mayor of London has to account for 'hurling' before, xxxix; his connexion with the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, xxxix–xl; in *The Famous Victories*, xlix; in Shakespeare, lii, liii.
Gascony, loss of, 189.
Gaucourt, Raoul, Sire de, in command at Harfleur, 35; surrenders as a hostage, 40.
Genoa (Gene), Genoese, French hire carracks from, 69, 77; besiege Harfleur, 69; defeated by Bedford, 70, 71; defeated by Huntingdon, 78.
Gisors (Guysours), besieged by Henry V, 150; French and Burgundian ambassadors at, 151.
Glendower, Owen, his rebellion, 10; said to have died at Loughton's Hope, 191.

Gloucester, Duke of, *see* Humphrey.
Goodwin, Thomas, his *History of Henry V*, xv.
Gournay, captured, 139.
Grand-Pré (Grauntyree), Count of, at Agincourt, 56.
Gray *or* Grey, Sir John, takes part in expedition of 1411, xxii.
Gray *or* Grey of Codnor, Richard, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Gray *or* Grey, Sir Thomas, executed, 30.
Guernsey, assistance sent to Humphrey of Gloucester from, 110.
Guienne, Charles the Dauphin in, 114; loss of, 189.
Guienne, Duke of, *see* Louis the Dauphin.
Guinegate, battle of, x.
Guisnes (Guynes), Henry V at, 63.

H

Hacqueville, Sire de, at Harfleur, 35.
Hall, Edward, historian, not acquainted with Tito Livio's *Vita*, xv, xlvi; his references to Earl of Ormonde, xvii, xxxvii; to misconduct of Henry V as Prince, xxx; on the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, xxxix; material derived from him by Shakespeare, through Holinshed, l, liv.
Harcourt (Haricourt), captured, 106; granted to Thomas of Clarence, 107.
Harcourt, Mr. L. W. Vernon, on the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, xxxviii; on Falstaff, xl, xlii.
Hardyng, John, chronicler, his accounts of the expedition of 1411, xxii, xxiii.
Harfleur (Hareflete), siege of, 34–41; description of, 35; surrender of, 40; Thomas Beaufort made captain of, 41; English losses at, 42; garrison of, 43; French and Genoese besiege, 69; relieved by Bedford, 70, 71; Genoese again blockade, 78; mentioned, 56, 93, 139.
Harpsfield, Nicholas, historian, quotes the Translator of Livius, v, vi, xx, xlvii; quoted, 5 *n.*
Harrington, John, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Hearne, Thomas, antiquary, his edition of Tito Livio's *Vita*, xv; quotes The Translator as *Libri Anglici*, v; his error as to the Pseudo-Elmham, xv.
Helley, Jacques, Sire d', his interview with Henry V, 57, 58; killed at Agincourt, 61.
Henry IV, King of England, his accession, 8; invades Scotland, *ib.*; at Shrewsbury, 9; his dissension with his son and reconciliation, xx–xxvi, 11–13; his suggested abdication, xxi, xxii; his advice to his son, 13–16; dying speeches attributed to, xxvii–xxix; his death, 17; in *The Famous Victories*, xlviii–l; in Shakespeare's plays, li, lii.
Henry V, King of England:—
As Prince:—date of his birth, 182 *n.*; born at Monmouth, 8; Welsh prophecy concerning, *ib.*; his greatness foretold by Richard II, *ib.*; with Richard II in Ireland, *ib.*; guardian of England in 1400, *ib.*; his valour at Shrewsbury, 9; his warfare in Wales, 10; governs England for his father, xxi; sends help to Burgundy in 1411, xxi–xxiii, 11; project to make him King in place of his father, xxi, 11; removed from Council, xxii, xxiii; attempt to make dissension between him and his father, xxiii, 11; accused of misappropriating revenues of Calais, xxiii, xxiv; opposes alliance with Orleans, xxiv; comes to London, *ib.*; his reconciliation with his father, xxv, xxvi, xlix, 11–13; attempted assassination, xxv; advice of Henry IV to, xxvii–xxix, 13–16; takes the crown from his father's bedside, xxvii, l, lii.
Stories and legends of his youth:—his riotous company, xxix–xxxi, xli, xlviii, 19; robs his own receivers, xxix, xxxii, xlviii, 17; the Prince and the Chief Justice, xxxviii–xl, xlix, li, lii; alleged arrest at Coventry, xli; his disguising, xx, xxvi, xlix, 11, 12; the dagger story, xlix, 13; story of Falstaff, an invention of Elizabethan dramatists, xli, xlii, but may partly originate through his association with Oldcastle, xlii; stories not unfounded, but exaggerated in legend, xxxii; the legend largely due to Ormonde's stories, lvi.
As King:—His accession, 17, 18; change in his character and conduct, xxx, xxxii, xlii, 17, 19; his oath to rule well, 18; his coronation, *ib.*; dismisses the riotous companions of his youth, xxix, xxxi, 19; reburies Richard II, 20; suppresses Lollard rebellion, 22, 23; projects invasion of France, and seeks advice of universities, 24; his negotiations with France, 24–6; the story of the tun of tennis-balls, xliii, l, 25; holds Parliament at Leicester, 27; assembles army at Southampton, 28; rejects the aid of an apostate, *ib.*; plot against, 30; his letters to Charles of France, 30–2; lands at Chef de Caux, 33; besieges Harfleur, 34, 36–9; re-

ceives surrender, 40; determines to march by land to Calais, 42; order of his host, 43; hangs soldier who stole a pix, lv, 44; crosses the Somme, 45; receives and answers French heralds, lv, 48; prepares for battle on 24th Oct., 50; lodges at Maisoncelles, 51; orders his army on 25th Oct., 53; his dress, 54; his rebuke to Sir Walter Hungerford, *ib.*; his interview with the Sire de Helley, 57, 58; rescues Humphrey of Gloucester, 60; threatens to kill his prisoners, 61; served at table by the French princes, 62; buries the English dead, 63; reaches Calais, *ib.*; reception at Dover, 64; and in London, 65; progress through England, 65, 66; receives Sigismund, 68; concludes Treaty of Canterbury, 72, 73; goes to Calais for conference with Burgundy, 74, 75; his interest in the Council of Constance, 76; prepares to renew the war, *ib.*; takes his leave of London, 77; his muster at Southampton, 79, 80; lands at Touques, 81; challenges the Dauphin, 83; determines to besiege Caen, 84; his plan for the assault, 88; enters the city, 91; reduces the Castle of Caen, 94, 95; his care for the conquered territory, 96; takes Courcy and Argenton, 97; and Seez, 98; besieges Alençon, 98, 99; treats with Brittany and the Dauphin, 100; besieges Falaise, 100–6; keeps Lent at Bayeux, 106, 107; sends reinforcements to Humphrey of Gloucester, 115; keeps feast at Caen, 116; receives St. Vincent Ferrier, xxxv, 130–2; marches on Rouen, 116; captures Louviers, 117, 118; advances to Pont de l'Arche, and crosses the Seine, 119–21; lodges before Rouen, 123; his provision for the siege, 124–7; negotiates with the Dauphin, 128; relieves his enemies, 129; takes precautions against rescue, *ib.*; his speech to the envoys of the citizens, 134, 135; punishes the Vicar-general and Alain Blanchard, 135, 136; enters Rouen, 137; his care for the citizens, *ib.*; his governance of Rouen, 138; receives the Duke of Brittany, 139; abortive negotiations with the Dauphin, 140; goes to Vernon, 141; sends an ambassy to Burgundy, 142; goes to Mantes, 144; meets Burgundy, Queen Isabel, and Catherine at Meulan, 144, 145; fired with love for Catherine, 145; sends a force against Pontoise, 146; visits Pontoise, 149; reduces Vauconvilliers, *ib.*; besieges Gisors, 150; receives ambassadors from Philip of Burgundy, 151; besieges Meulan, 152; at Mantes, 153; spends Christmas, 1420, at Rouen, 155; sends embassy to Troyes, 156; starts for Troyes, 157; received at Troyes, 158; agrees to terms of peace, 160; marries Catherine, and becomes Heir and Regent of France, 162; accepts surrender of Sens, and besieges Montereau, 166; besieges Melun, 167; fights with Barbasan, xxxvii, 168; spares but imprisons Barbasan, 170; goes to Paris, and holds Parliament, 171; returns to England, 172; pays salaries of French officials, 174; negotiates with Scotland, *ib.*; returns to France, and makes campaign to the Loire, *ib.*; besieges Meaux, 175; keeps Whitsuntide, 1422, in state at Paris, 178; his diligence for French affairs, 179; goes to Compiégne, 180; proposes to relieve Cosne, but is prevented by illness, *ib.*; makes his Testament, 181; his death, 182; his body conveyed to England, 183; the funeral procession, 184; buried at Westminster, 185.

His character, 185; The Translator's commendation of him, as a model for other princes, 4, 19, 28, 34, 45, 93. His traditional character based on Tito Livio's *Vita* and The Translator, xv, xlvi, xlvii, lvi; in *The Famous Victories*, xlviii–l; in Shakespeare's plays, l–lvi. His piety: on his accession, 17; on his first landing in France, 33; at Harfleur, 40; after Agincourt, 61; for his victories at sea, 71; at Caen, 87, 91; in keeping feasts, 106, 107, 116, 155; on entry of Rouen, 137. His Justice, 5, 19, 20, 45. His continence, 5. His Humility and submission to God, 5, 33, 50, 54, 65, 85, 131, 134; calls himself the Scourge of God, xxxv, 131. His courage, 50, 60. His prudence and labour in war, 38, 63, 87, 126, 129, 153, 175. His care for his soldiers, 63, 159. Forbids plunder and violence, 34, 91, 99. His religious foundations, xxxiii, 19–21. His ships, 80. Chooses a book of history from spoils of Caen, xxxiv, 92. His sword, 62. His helmet, 65. Connexion with Queen's College, Oxford, xxvi.

Henry VI, King of England, his birth, 173; buried at Windsor, *ib.*; his father's provision for him, 181; succeeds as King of England, 186; and as King of France, 187; goes to France and is crowned at Paris, 188; his troublous reign, 188, 189; Hum-

phrey of Gloucester's care for, 8, 181; Tito Livio dedicates his *Vita Henrici Quinti* to, 6, 7.
Henry VII, King of England, builds Richmond, 19 *n.*
Henry VIII, King of England, The Translator writes for his instruction, 3–5; his invasion of France in 1513, x, 4, 190.
Hereford, Countess of, *see* Bohun, Joan.
Hermanville, Sire de, at Harfleur, 35.
Hesdin (Hedin), funeral procession of Henry V at, 184.
Hogue, La (Hogges), Earl of March lands at, 86.
Holborn, Ely Place in, 73.
Holinshed, Raphael, historian, refers to The Translator, v–vii, xlvi; his use of Tito Livio's *Vita*, xv, xlvi, xlvii; story of Humphrey of Gloucester and Sigismond, xxxiii; on Alain Blanchard, xxxvi; on Barbasan, *ib.*; supplies material for *Famous Victories* and to Shakespeare, xlix, l, lii–lvi.
Holland, Henry V hires ships from, 32; sends for provisions to, 102.
Holland, John, Earl of Huntingdon, defeats Genoese, 78; his retinue in 1417, 79; holds a command in Normandy, 108; at siege of Rouen, 124; at capture of Pontoise, 147–8; defeats French in Maine, 155; taken prisoner at Baugé, in 1421, 173; accompanies Henry VI to France, 188.
Holland, William, Count of, comes to London in 1416, 73, 74.
Honfleur (Humflete, Hunselewe), English reconnoitre, 82; captured by Salisbury, 139; mentioned, 33.
Horne, John, Mayor of Coventry, said to have arrested Henry V when prince, xli.
Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, created Duke, 27; takes part in expedition of 1415, 33; his command at Harfleur, 37; wounded at Agincourt, 60; receives Sigismund at Dover, xxxiii, 67; hostage for John of Burgundy, 75; his retinue in 1417, 79; besieges Touques, 82; at siege of Caen, 85; captures Bayeux, 93, 95; at siege of Alençon, 98; of Falaise, 101; his campaign in the Côtentin, 106, 107; besieges and captures Cherbourg, 109–15; commands at St. Hilary's Gate before Rouen, 123, 127; captures Ivry, 141; and St. Germans, 152; Protector of England, 181, 186; his care for Henry VI, 8, 181; his patronage of Tito Livio, xiv, 7.
Hungary, Nicholas de Gara, Great Earl of, 67.
Hungerford, Sir Walter, his speech to Henry V before Agincourt, 54 *n.*
Huntingdon, Earl of, *see* Holland, John.

I

Ireland, Henry V taken there by Richard II, 8; appeased, 24; Earl of Ormonde in, xvii.
Isabell, Queen of France, agrees to meet Henry V, 142; comes to Pontoise, 143; at Meulan, 144, 145; receives Warwick at Troyes, 156; receives Henry V, 158; authorized by her husband to make peace, 159; agrees to treaty, 160, 161; at marriage of Henry V, 162; at Sens, 166; at Paris, 171, 178, 179; present at death of Henry V, 181.
Isleworth (Thestleworth), house of Celestins there, xxxii, xxxiii, 20.
Ivry, captured, 141.
Ivry (Yury), Sire d', French ambassador to England, 24.

J

James I, King of Scotland, marries Joan Beaufort, 174; accompanies corpse of Henry V to England, 184, 185.
Jersey (Gursey), assistance sent from, to Humphrey of Gloucester, 110.
Jerusalem, Henry V intends to visit, 82.
Jerusalem and Sicily, Yolande, Queen of, makes terms with Henry V, 100.
Joan of Arc, 187.
John, Duke of Bedford, at the 'hurling in Eastcheap', xxxix; created Duke, 27 *n.*; receives Sigismund, 68; defeats Genoese and relieves Harfleur, 69–71; protector of England in 1417, 81; sent to relieve Cosne, 180; Henry V appoints him to rule Normandy and France, 181; provides for government of France, 183; as Regent of France is present at funeral of Charles VI, 186, 187; his successful rule of France, 187, 188; his victory at Verneuil, 77, 187.

K

Kenilworth, Henry V at, xliii.
Kikle *or* Kyghley, Sir John, captain of Touques, 83.
Kingston, Thomas, captain of Château Gaillard, 170.
Kyme, Earl of, *see* Umfraville.

L

Langley (King's Langley, Herts), Richard II buried there, 20.
Langley, Thomas, bishop of Durham, xxiv.

Lawton's Hope Hill, reputed death of Owen Glendower at, 191.
Leicester, Parliament at, 27.
Le Mans (Cittie of Shenene), 99.
Lille, Earl of Warwick's embassy to, 74.
Lingard, John, his criticism of the story of Henry's disguising, xxvi.
Lisieux, captured, 95.
Lisieux, bishop of, *see* Franel, Pierre.
Livet, Robert de, Vicar-general of the Archbishop of Rouen, excommunicates Henry V, 128; his miserable fate, *ib.*, 135.
Livio da Forli, Tito (Titus Livius Forojuliensis), account of, xiv; his early interest in Henry V, 6; in service of Humphrey of Gloucester, xiv, 7. His *Vita Henrici Quinti*: dedicated to Henry VI, 8; its character, xv; use made of it by The Translator, ix, xiii, 3; by later historians, xv, xlvi, xlvii; its influence on Shakespeare's character of Henry V, liv–lvi; Italian translation of, xiv.
Loire, river, 174.
Lombard Street, 184.
London, Henry IV and his son at, in 1411, xxiv; 'the hurling in Eastcheap,' xxxix; Lollard rising at, 23; triumphal reception of Henry V at, 65; Sigismund at, 68; Henry rides through, in 1417, 77; funeral procession of Henry V at, 184, 185. *See also* Cheap, Durham House, Ely Place, Ficket Field, Holborn, Lombard St., St. Paul's, Tower of London.
London Chronicles, stories and legends of Henry V in, xxiv, xxxix, xl; reproduced in *The Famous Victories* and by Shakespeare, xlviii, xlix, l, lii; the Lollard project of Church reform comes from, liv.
Longny (Longue), Maréchal de, fails to reach Agincourt, 53.
Louis the Dauphin, Duke of Guienne, rules for his father, 27, 32; fails to relieve Harfleur, 39; at French Council at Rouen, 45, 46; prevented from going to Agincourt, 46; Burgundy's variance with, 47; sends tennis-balls to Henry V, xliii, xliv.
Louis II of Anjou, King of Sicily, at French Council at Rouen, 46; his wife and son make terms with Henry V, 100.
Louis III of Anjou, King of Sicily, makes terms with Henry V, 100.
Louis XII, King of France, his war with Henry VIII, 190.
Louviers, siege and capture of, 117, 118.
Luders, Alexander, on the Prince's disguising, xxvii.
Lydgate, John, records the tennis-ball story, xliii, xliv.

M

Macon, lordship of, 188.
Maine (Shenen), Louis of Anjou makes terms for, 100; English campaign in, 155.
Maisoncelles, English army lodged at, 51 *n.*, 62.
Manny, Oliver de, captain of Falaise, 103–6.
Mantes (Maunte), capture of, 139; Henry V at, 143–9, 152; French ambassadors come to, 153.
Manwood, Sir Peter, donor of Bodley MS. 966, vi.
March, Earl of, *see* Mortimer.
Marne, river, 175.
Marshal, Earl, *see* Mowbray.
Martin V (Odo de Colonna), Pope, 76.
Martinville, la Porte, at Rouen, 123.
Matravers, lord, *see* Fitzalan, John.
Meaux, siege and capture of, 175–7.
Melun (Millan, Millomie), John of Burgundy meets the Dauphin at, 145–6; siege of, xxxvii, 167–9.
Merlan (Meralawe), 178.
Meulan (Millans, Millane), conference of Henry V and John of Burgundy at, 143–5; capture of, 152–3.
Michel, Duchess of Burgundy, 166.
Milan, Duke of, 67.
Miraumont, river, 45, 49.
Monchy-lagache, Henry V lodged at, 45, 49.
Mongoguier (Mountganger), Sire de, 46.
Monmouth, Henry V born there, 8.
Monstrelet, Enguerrant de, chronicler, The Translator uses his Chronicle, ix, 3; influence of, on English narratives, xv, xvi; his story of the death-bed of Henry IV, xxvii, xxviii, l, lii; on fighting in the mines at Melun, xxxvii; on numbers of killed at Agincourt, lvi; use of by Stow, ix, xlvii.
Montacute, Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, his retinue in 1417, 79; takes Aubvilliers, 83; at siege of Falaise, 101; at Rouen, 124; his successes in 1419, 139; captures Fresnay-le-Vicomte, 155; recovers body of Clarence after Baugé, 173; chief lieutenant of John of Bedford, 188.
Montereau (Monstrean), murder of John of Burgundy at, 151; capture of, 166.
Montivilliers (Monstrevilges, Monsieure de Villieurs), mentioned, 35; capture of, 139.
Montjoye (Mount oye), captured, 152.

Montreuil (Menstraull), funeral procession of Henry V at, 184.
More, Sir Thomas, his *History of Richard III*, x, xi.
Mortimer, Edmund, Earl of March, his retinue in 1417, 79; keeps the sea, 81; lands in Normandy, and joins the King at Caen, 86; lieutenant of Ireland, xvii.
Mowbray, John de, Earl Marshal and Earl of Nottingham, his retinue in 1417, 79 *n.*; captures Louers, 83; at siege of Rouen, 123; besieges Ivry, 141; fights with French in Maine, 155.

N

Neufchâtel (the newe Castell), 139.
Nevers, Philippe Count of, brother of John of Burgundy, in French army, 48; knighted, 51; killed at Agincourt, 56.
Nevers, County of, 180.
Neville, Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, 54 *n.*; references to, in Shakespeare, lv.
Newby, 95.
Nogent-sur-Seine, put in charge of English, 157; Henry V at, 158.
Normandy, Henry V lands in, 33; inhabitants of, do fealty to Henry V, 97; provision as to, in Treaty of Troyes, 164; Clarence governor of, 173; charge of, given to Bedford, 181, 183; loss of, 189.
Norwich, bishop of, *see* Courtney, Richard, and Wakering, John.
Nottingham, Earl of, *see* Mowbray, John.

O

Offemont, captured, 178.
Offemont, Guy de Nesle, Sire d', attempts to relieve Meaux, 175–6.
Olandyne, a lord of Holland, his services rejected by Henry V, 28.
Oldcastle, Sir John, Lord Cobham, takes part in expedition of 1411, 11; dismissed by Henry V, 22; his rebellion, and execution, 23; introduced in *The Famous Victories*, xli; traces of, in Shakespeare, xli; his connexion with the Falstaff legend, xli, xlii; his association with Henry V, *ib.*
Orleans, Charles, Duke of, his opposition to John of Burgundy, xxii, 10, 47; attacks English at Maisoncelles, 52; knighted, 53; commands in van at Agincourt, 55; taken prisoner, 62.
Ormonde, Earl of, *see* Butler, James.
Orsini (Vrsinys), Cardinal, ambassador for John of Burgundy, 118.
Otterbourne, Thomas, chronicler, describes reconciliation of Henry V to his father, xxv; his story of St. Vincent Ferrier, xxxv; on tennis-ball story, xliii, xliv.

P

Paris, royal council at in 1414, 27; Armagnac murdered at, 128; English reconnoitre, 149; rulers of, negotiate with Henry V, 151–3; Henry V passes, 157; Henry V at, 166; Barbasan imprisoned at, 170; French Parliament at, 171–2; Henry V at, 174, 178–9; corpse of Henry V at, 183; death and burial of Charles VI at, 186–7; coronation of Henry VI at, 188.
Percy, Sir Henry (Hotspur), killed at Shrewsbury, 9.
Percy, Thomas, Earl of Worcester, taken prisoner at Shrewsbury, 9.
Philip, Duke of Burgundy, *see* Burgundy.
Philip VI, King of France, defeated at Crécy, 44.
Piers, Launcellot, killed at Eu, 44.
Pole, Michael de la, second Earl of Suffolk, his command at Harfleur, 34; dies of the flux, 42 *n.*
Pole, Michael de la, third Earl of Suffolk, killed at Agincourt, 62.
Pole, William de la, fourth Earl of Suffolk, his retinue in 1417, 79; at siege of Rouen, 127; accompanies Henry VI to France, 188.
Policronicon, The, Caxton's edition of, xvi; used by the Translator, *ib.*, 20, 25, 30, 33, 61, 73, 80, 81, 82, 137, 185, 188.
Polydore Vergil, *see* Vergil.
Pontauton, 106 *n.*
Pont de l'Arche (Portlarge), Henry V besieges, 119–20; and crosses Seine at, 121.
Ponthieu, County of, granted to Philip of Burgundy, 188.
Ponthieu, Louis, Count of, 46.
Pontoise, John of Burgundy and Queen Isabel at, 143, 144; capture of, by English, 146–8; Henry V at, 149, 157.
Portugal, John, King of, sends a fleet to help English before Rouen, 125.
Powis, lord, *see* Cherleton, Edward.
Provins (Prouince), embassy of Earl of Warwick to, 142; Henry V at, 158.

Q

Quillebœuf, English victory at, 127 *n.*

R

Redmayne, Robert, historian, his *Life of Henry V*, xxxiii; story of Sigismund at Calais, *ib.*; on story of Prince and Chief Justice, xxxviii.
Rennes, St. Vincent Ferrier at, xxxv.
Richard II, King of England, foretells the renown of Henry V, 8; in Ireland, *ib.*; buried at Langley, but translated by Henry V to Westminster, 20; masses for, 21.
Richard, Earl of Cambridge, his plot against Henry V, 30.
Richard, Duke of York, accompanies Henry VI to France, 188.
Richemont (Richemunde), Arthur, Earl of, attacks English at Maisoncelles, 52; taken prisoner at Agincourt, 62.
Richmond, the later name of Sheen, 19.
Robsart, Sir Lewis, his prowess at Cherbourg, 113.
Rome, Church of, 76, 190.
Ros, John, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Rotherhithe, Henry IV at, xxiv.
Rouen (Roane), French council at, 45, 46; Dauphin at, in 1417, 82 *n.*; Henry V lays siege to, 114, 116; description of, 121, 122; English positions before, 123–4; the siege, 124–8; famine at, 129; alleged visit of St. Vincent Ferrier to, xxxvi, 130; the inhabitants beg for terms, 132–5; surrender of, 136; Henry V enters, 137; story of the 'thirty kings' at, xlv; exchequer established there, 138; Henry's buildings at, 136, 138; Duke of Brittany visits Henry at, 139; ambassadors of Dauphin at, 140; mutiny at, 146; Henry keeps Christmas, 1419, at, 155; corpse of Henry V at, 183, 184; Joan of Arc burnt at, 187; Henry VI at, 188.
Roussy, Count of, at Agincourt, 56.
Ruisseauville (Ronsianvile), French army at, 50.

S

St. Catherine's Abbey, Rouen, 122; siege and capture of, 125–6.
St. Cloud (Clo), English and Burgundian victory at, 11.
Ste. Croix, Cardinal, at Conference of Arras, 189.
St. Denys, Henry V passes, 157; Charles VI buried at, 187.
St. George's, Southwark, Henry V's oblations at, 77.
St. German's, captured, 152.
St. Hilary's Gate, Rouen, Gloucester lodged before, 123, 127.
St. Lô, captured, 107.
St. Maur-des-Fossés, entrails of Henry V buried at, 182.
St. Omer (St. Meros), Humphrey of Gloucester at, 75.
St. Paul's, London, Henry V and Sigismund at, 68; Henry V visits, in 1417, 77; corpse of Henry V rests at, 185; Bishop's Palace at, xxiv.
St. Pol (St. Paule), County of, 52.
St. Pol, Philip, Count of, his embassy to Henry V, 142, 143.
St. Quentin, French at, 45.
St. Riguier (St. Regnieur), surrendered by Sire d' Offemont, 175.
St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte (St. Sauiour Leuont), captured, 107.
St. Stephen's Abbey, Caen, preserved by Clarence from intended destruction, 84; windows of, shattered by bombardment, 86; Sir Edmund Springes buried there, 92.
Salisbury, Earl of, *see* Montacute, Thomas.
Salms, Count of, at Agincourt, 56.
Scales, Thomas, lord, fights under Bedford, 188.
Schism, The Great, Sigismund and Henry V agree to its termination, 72; ended, 76; a fresh Schism averted in 1513, 190.
Scotland, Henry IV invades, 8; trouble with, appeased in 1414, 24; Scots invade England, 115; and are defeated by Exeter, 116.
Scotland, King of, *see* James I.
Scrope, Henry, lord le, his plot against Henry V, lv, 30.
Seez (Sees), captured, 98.
Seine, river, situation of Harfleur on, 35, 36; Bedford's naval engagement in, 70; Genoese fleet in, 69, 78; English army crosses at Pont de l'Arche, 119–21; English bridge across, at Rouen, 124; conference at Meulan on banks of, 143; flotilla on, at siege of Meulan, 152.
Sens, surrendered to Henry V, 166; Villeneuve near, 175 *n.*
Sens, archbishop of, with French army, 48; killed at Agincourt, 62.
Shakespeare, William, his materials, xlvi, xlvii, l; his indebtedness to Tito Livio, xlvi, liv–lvi; to The Translator, l, liv–lvi; to Holinshed, xlvii, l, lii–lvi; story of Gadshill, li; of Henry and his father, li, lii; of Prince and Chief Justice, li–liii; of tennis-balls, liv; legend of Falstaff, xli, xlii, li–liii; of Bardolph, liii, lv; on project of Church reform, liv.

Sheen, manor of, rebuilt by Henry V, 19; religious foundations at, 19, 20.
Shenen (Cenomannia), *see* Maine, *and* Le Mans.
Shrewsbury, battle of, liv. 9.
Sigismund, Emperor, negotiates for peace at Paris, 66; his dress, *ib.*; received at Calais, xxxiii, 67; story of his reception by Humphrey of Gloucester at Dover, xxxiii, 67, 68; comes to London, 68; made a knight of the Garter, 69; his advice to Henry V, *ib.*; concludes alliance with Henry V, 71–3; goes to conference at Calais, 74; Henry V's presents to, 75; seeks passage through Flanders, 76; his share in the Council of Constance, *ib.*
Sion, Nunnery of, founded by Henry V, 20.
Solly-Flood, Mr. F., his unwarranted censure of Fabyan, xxxii; on the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice, xxxviii, xl, xlii; on the Coventry legend, xli *n.*
Somerset, Earl of, *see* Beaufort, John.
Somme, river, English prevented from crossing at Blanche-Taque, 44; passage of, 45.
Southampton (Hampton), muster at, in 1415, 28, 30, 32; muster at, in 1417, 77, 79.
Speed, John, historian, his quotations from The Translator, xlvii.
Springe, Sir Edmund, killed at Caen, 89 *n.*, 92.
Stafford, Edmund, Earl of, 190.
Stafford, Hugh, lord Bourchier, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Stow, John, historian, his mention of The Translator's *Life of Henry the Fifth*, v; his copy of *The Life*, viii, ix; his indebtedness to The Translator, vi, vii, ix, xv, xlvi, xlvii, and footnotes, *passim*; his use of Livius and Monstrelet, ix, xlvii; his story of Henry's disguising, xx, xxv, xxvi; his story of Henry IV's advice to his son, xxvii; quotes the story of the receivers as from Livius, xxix; borrows the story of the Prince and the Chief Justice from Elyot, xxxix; on 'the hurling at Eastcheap', *ib.*, xlix; his 'Register of Mayors', xxxix, xlix; supplies material for *The Famous Victories* and to Shakespeare, l, li, lvi.
Streeche, John, canon of Kenilworth, his account of the death-bed of Henry IV, xxviii; on tennis-ball story, xliii; on story of the Sire de Graville, xliv.
Suffolk, Earls of, *see* Pole.
Swynford, Catherine, Duchess of Lancaster, xxxi.

T

Talbot, Gilbert, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Talbot, John, lord, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, serves under Bedford, 188.
Thiberville (Tiuill), captured, 106.
Thomas, Duke of Clarence, his early friendship with the Earl of Ormonde, xvii; at 'the hurling in Eastcheap', xxxix; his share in the events of 1411–12, xxii, xxiii; his dissension with his brother, xxii, lii, 12; takes part in suppression of Lollards, 23; serves in expedition of 1415, 33; his command at siege of Harfleur, 34, 36–8; suffers from sickness, 42; goes home, 43; present at reception of Sigismund, 68; his retinue in 1417, 79; at siege of Caen, 84–6; storms the town, 89, 90; his share of the spoils, xxxiv, 92; at siege of Falaise, 101; his Norman campaign in 1418, 106; Harcourt granted to, 107; commands at the passage of the Seine, 120; at siege of Rouen, 123; his conquests in 1419, 138, 139; reconnoitres Paris, 149; at Troyes, 160, 162; defeated and killed at Baugé, 173; hears St. Vincent Ferrier preach, xxxv.
Thorigny (Turney), captured, 107.
Tille, John, confessor of Henry IV, xxvii.
Touques, English land near, in 1417, 81; captured, 82; Sir John Kikle, captain of, 83; the Dauphin's ambassadors at, 100.
Tournay, capture of, x.
Tower of London, Oldcastle escapes from, 23.
Treaties: of Canterbury, 72, 73; of Troyes, 160–5, 181.
Translator of Livius, The, reference to, by sixteenth-century historians, v; manuscripts of his *Life*, v–ix, lvi; time at which he wrote, ix, x; literary characteristics, x–xii; his qualities as an historian, xii–xiv; his sources, xiv–xvi, 3; his use of the Earl of Ormonde, xix; discussion of stories preserved by, xx–xxxviii; use of by sixteenth-century historians, xlvi, xlvii; Speed quotes second hand, xlviii; influence of, on *The Famous Victories*, xlviii, xlix; on Shakespeare's conception of Henry V, xlvii, l–lvi; his Proem, 3–5; moralizations by, 17–19, 23, 28, 29, 34, 45, 190, 191.
Troyes, John of Burgundy at, 151; Earl of Warwick's embassy to, 156; journey of Henry V to, 157, 158; re-

ception of Henry V at, 158, 159; peace concluded at, 160; terms of the Treaty of Troyes, 160–5; marriage of Henry V at, 162; departure of Henry V from, 166.
Turner, Sharon, rejects story of Prince's disguising, xxvii.
Tyler, James Endell, author of *Memoirs of Henry V*, doubts the story of the Prince's disguising, xxvi; criticizes Stow, xxvii.

U

Umfraville, Gilbert de, titular Earl of Kyme, takes part in expedition of 1411, xxii, 11.

V

Valognes (Valloges), captured, 107.
Valois, 178.
Vannes (Venice), bishop of, Breton ambassador to Henry V, 181.
Vauconvilliers (Rokinvilliers), captured, 149.
Vaudemont, Count of, at Agincourt, 56.
Vaurus (Vaiorne), Bastard of, captain of Meaux, 175; executed in punishment for his cruelties, 177, 178.
Vendôme (Vandesme), Count of, ambassador to England, 24; killed at Agincourt, 62.
Vergil, Polydore, his influence on historical literature in England, xi, xii; possibly used Tito Livio's *Vita*, xv; borrowed notice of Henry V's youth from Fabyan, xxx.
Verneuil (Semgle, Vermile, Vernuell), surrendered to Henry V, 98; battle of, 77, 187.
Vernon, Louis the Dauphin at, 39; captured, 139; Henry V at, 141.
Villeneuve-le-Roi, Henry V at, 175 *n.*
Vincent Ferrier, St., story of his sermon before Henry V, vi, xxxiv–xxxvi, 130–2; his movements in 1417, xxxv; came to Henry at Caen and not at Rouen, *ib.*; Otterbourne's notice of, *ib.*; his canonization, *ib.*, 130; his praise of Henry V, 132.
Vire, captured, 107.
Visconti, Giancarlo, 67 *n.*
Voyenne, passage of Somme at, 45.

W

Wakering, John, bishop of Norwich, ambassador to France, 74.
Wales, birth of Henry V in, 8; rebellion in, 9, 10; Oldcastle takes refuge in, 23; appeased, 24.
Walsingham, Thomas, his account of the conversion of Henry V, xxx.
Warwick, Earl of, *see* Beauchamp.
Westminster, reconciliation of Henry IV and his son at, xxiv *n.*, xxv, 12; Henry V at, 23; Sigismund at, 68.
Westminster Abbey, Richard II buried at, 20; Henry V buried at, 185; masses at, founded by Henry V, 21, 22.
Whiddon, Sir John, judge, refers to Gascoigne story, xxxix.
William the Conqueror, Henry V the greatest king since, 4; his tomb, 92.
Willoughby, Robert, lord, his retinue in 1417, 79.
Winchester, bishop of, *see* Beaufort, Henry.
Windsor, Henry VI buried at, 173; story of Henry V at, xlv.
Worcester, Earl of, *see* Percy, Thomas.
Wylie, Dr. J. H., on the story of Prince's disguising, xxiv *n.*, xxvi; on story of Prince and Chief Justice, xl.

Y

York, archbishop of, *see* Bowet, Henry.
York, Duke of, *see* Edward, Richard.
Yong, James, translates the *Secreta Secretorum* for Ormonde, xviii, xix.

Z

Zealand, Henry V hires ships from, 32.

Oxford: Printed at the Clarendon Press by Horace Hart, M.A.